





Supp. 60150/c

Vol. 3

DIONYSIUS, of Holicarnassus



THE
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS,

Translated into ENGLISH;

WITH
NOTES and DISSERTATIONS.

BY
EDWARD SPELMAN, Esq.

VOL. III.

LONDON,
Printed, and sold by the Booksellers of *London* and *Westminster*.
MDCCLVIII

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT



THE
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS.

THE SIXTH BOOK.

THE consuls of the following year, who were Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, and Marcus Minucius, entered upon their magistracy in the seventy first Olympiad, in which Tifocrates of Croton won the prize of the stadium, Hipparchus being archon at Athens; and, during their consulship, performed no action either of a military, or civil nature, worthy the notice of history (for the truce with the Latines gave them a long respite from foreign wars; and the injunction, decreed by the senate, against the exaction of debts, till the war, that was expected, should be, securely, terminated, quieted the disturbances raised in the city by the poor, who desired to be discharged of their debts by a public act.) However, they procured a decree of the senate to be passed, granting power both to the Latin women, who were married to men of worth, and distinction among the Romans, and to the Roman

women married to Latines, either to stay with their husbands, or to return home; and it was, also, ordered that the male children should remain with their fathers, and the female, and unmarried should follow their mothers: For it happened that a great many women, through the affinity, and friendship subsisting between the two nations, had contracted marriages in one another's cities. The women, having this liberty granted to them by the decree of the senate, shewed how fond they were of living at Rome: For almost all the Roman women, who lived in the Latin cities, left their husbands, and returned to their fathers; and all the Latin women, who were married to Romans, except two, despised their country, and staid with their husbands: A happy omen foretelling which of the two nations should be victorious in the war. Under these consuls, they say, the temple was consecrated to Saturn, upon the ascent, leading from the forum to the capitol, and annual ¹ festivals, and sacrifices were appointed to be performed at the public expence: They add that, before this, the altar, built by Hercules, stood there, upon which, the persons, who had the superintendance of these holy cere-

ANNOTATIONS on the Sixth Book.

¹. *Εορτας*. These were the *Saturnalia*, which, after the reformation of the calender by Julius Caesar, were celebrated on the sixteenth of the calends of January (the seventeenth of December) They consisted of four days only, till ^a Caligula added a fifth, which he

called *Juvenalis*. ^b Livy, also, places the dedication of the temple of Saturn, and the institution of the *Saturnalia*, under these consuls; *his consulibus (A. Sempronio, et M. Minucio) aedes Saturno dedicata: Saturnalia institutus festus dies.*

^a Sueton. Life of Caligula, c. 17.

^b B. ii. c. 21.

monies committed to them by Hercules, sacrificed burnt-offerings, as first fruits, according to the custom of the Greeks. Some historians write that this temple was inscribed with the name of Titus Lartius, the consul of the former year; others, with That of Tarquinius, who was expelled the kingdom: And that Postumus Cominius consecrated the temple pursuant to a decree of the senate. These consuls, therefore, as I said, had the opportunity of enjoying a profound peace.

II. They were succeeded in the consulship by Aulus Postumius, and Titus Virginius: Under whom, the truce for a year with the Latines expired: And great preparations for the war were made by both nations. All the common people of Rome entered into the war willingly, and with great chearfulness: But the greatest part of the Latines shewed a coldness to the undertaking, and were forced into it; the men of power in the cities, being almost all corrupted with bribes, and promises by Tarquinius, and Mamilius; and those among the common people, who were dissatisfied with the war, excluded from a share in the public counsels: For such of them, as desired to be heard in their assemblies, could not, even, obtain it. Upon which, many, resenting this usage, left their cities, and deserted to the Romans: For the men, who had possessed themselves of the power in every city, did not chuse to put a stop to this; but thought themselves much obliged to their adversaries for submitting to a voluntary banishment. These the Romans received, and such of them, as came with their wives, and children, they employed in defending the city, distributing

buting them among the centuries appointed for that purpose: And the rest they sent into the fortresses near the city; and, dividing them among their colonies, took care they should create no disturbance. All men being of opinion that the present juncture, again, required the administration of a single person at liberty to act according to his own sense of things, and subject to give no account of his actions, Aulus Postumius, the younger of the consuls, was appointed dictator by his colleague Virginius: And, according to the example of the former dictator, created Titus Aebutius Elva his general of horse. And, having, in a short time, lifted all the Romans, who were arrived to the age of manhood, he divided his army into four parts; one of which he himself took the command of; another he gave to his colleague Virginius; the third, to Aebutius, general of the horse; and left the command of the fourth to Aulus Sempronius, whom he appointed to guard the city.

III. After the dictator had prepared every thing, that was necessary for the war, his scouts brought him word that the Latines had taken the field with all their forces: And, presently, others informed him that they had, by storm, possessed themselves of a strong place, called ² Corbio, in which there was a small garrison of the Romans; all of whom they put to the sword; and, being masters of the place, they made it the seat of the war. But the number of slaves, and cattle they found in the country, except Those taken at Corbio, was not answerable to their expectation;

² Κορβία. In Latin, *Corbio*, a town lying to the north of mount *Algidus*.

the husbandmen having, long before, removed all they could of both into the neighbouring fortresses: However, the enemy set fire to the houses they had abandoned, and laid waste the country. After they had taken the field, a fresh army arrived at their camp from ³ Antium, the most considerable city of the Volscian nation, with arms, corn, and every thing else, that was necessary for carrying on the war. This raised their confidence to a great degree, and gave them room to hope that, now the city of Antium had set the example, all the Volsci would join them with their forces. Postumius, being informed of these things, marched out, presently, against the enemy, with a design to fall upon them before all their forces were assembled: And, having made a forced march in the night, advanced near the Latines, who lay incamped in a strong post, near the lake, called ⁴ Regillus; and he himself incamped above them on a hill, that was high, and difficult of access: Where, if he continued, he was sure to have great advantages over the enemy.

IV. The generals of the Latines, Octavius of Tusculum, the son-in-law, or, as some write, the son of the son-in-law of Tarquinius, the late king, and Sextus Tarquinius (for they happened, at that time, to be incamped asunder) joined their forces; and, assembling the tribunes, and centurions, they considered with them in what manner they should

³ Εξ Ἀντίου. See the fifty seventh annotation on the fourth book.

⁴ Παρὰ Λίμνη Ρηβίλλη. This is the *Lacus Regillus*, near which this remarkable battle was fought: ^c Livy says

it lay in the territory of the Tusculani; *ad Lacum Regillum, in agro Tusculano, agmini hostium occurrerunt.* It is, now, called, ^d *Lago di S. Prasseda.*

^c B. ii. c. 19.

^d Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iii. c. 4.

carry on the war. And many opinions were delivered: For some advised to attack the troops, which, under the dictator, had possessed themselves of the hill, while their fear continued; looking upon their taking that strong post, as a sign of their fear, rather than of their caution: Others, to draw a line of contravallation round the camp of the Romans; and, leaving a small body of men to shut them up there, to march with the rest of the army to Rome, which, as the best of their youth were, now, in the field, might, easily, be taken. And others advised to wait the arrival of the auxiliary troops both from the Volsci, and their other allies, and to prefer safer, to bolder measures: For, they said, the Romans would reap no benefit from a delay: whereas, their condition would be improved by it. While they were debating, the other consul, Titus Virginius, having marched, suddenly, from Rome the night before, came up with his army; and incamped apart from the dictator upon another ridge of a mountain, that was exceeding craggy, and strongly situated: So that, both the passes, through which alone the Latines could make an irruption into the enemy's country, were, effectually, secured: The consul incamping before the pass on the left, and the dictator before That on the right. This increased the confusion of the commanders, who had nothing more in view than the safety of the army, and, also, their fear, lest they should be obliged, by lying still, to live, solely, upon their own provisions, of which they had not great plenty. When Postumius observed the inexperience of these commanders, he sent Titus Aebutius, general

general of the horse, with a chosen body both of horse, and light armed men, to possess himself of a hill, which commanded the pass, through which the provisions were brought to the Latines from their own territories: And the forces, sent with the general of the horse, passed by the enemy's camp in the night; and, marching through the untrodden paths of a wood, gained the hill, before the enemy was aware of it.

V. The generals of the enemy, finding that the strong places, which lay behind them, were, also, possessed by the Romans, and almost despairing of receiving any more provisions from home with security, resolved to drive them from the hill, before they had time to fortify it with a ditch, and palisades. And Sextus, one of the generals, taking the horse with him, rode up to them full speed, in expectation that the Roman horse would not stand their ground: But these, receiving the charge with bravery, he maintained the fight for some time, retiring, and renewing the attack. But the nature of the ground giving great advantages to those, who were once masters of the hill, and affording to those, who attacked from below, nothing but wounds, and ineffectual labor; and fresh forces of chosen foot, sent by Postumius to follow close the first detachment, coming up to the assistance of the Romans, Sextus returned to the camp without being able to effect any thing: And the Romans, now secure in the possession of the place, openly fortified it. After this action, Mamilius, and Sextus determined not to suffer a long delay, but, presently, to decide the affair by a battle. The
Roman

Roman dictator, who had, at first, proposed to put an end to the war without an action, and founded his hopes of effecting it on the incapacity of the generals he had to deal with, now resolved to engage: For the horse, that patrolled in the roads, had taken some couriers with letters from the Volsci to the Latin generals; by which the former acquainted them that great numbers of auxiliary forces would join them within three days at farthest; and, after that, another body from the Hernici. These were the considerations, that reduced the Roman generals to an immediate necessity of fighting, which, till then, they had proposed to decline. After the signals for the battle were given on both sides, the two armies advanced to a plain, that lay between their camps, and drew up in the following manner: Sextus Tarquinius was on the left wing of the Latines, and Octavius Mamilius on the right: Titus, the other son of Tarquinius, was in the center, where, also, the Roman deserters, and exiles were posted. And all their horse being divided into three bodies, two of these were placed in the wings, and one in the center. The left of the Roman army was commanded by Titus Aebutius, general of the horse, who stood opposite to Octavius Mamilius: The right, by Titus Virginius, the ^s consul, facing Sextus Tarquinius: The center

^s. Ο ὕπατος. Portus, and, after him, M. * * *, have thought it worth their while to observe that Virginius was not, actually, consul; since, upon the creation of a dictator, the consulship was superseded; Neither was he con-

ful, when our author said, before, that the dictator ordered *his colleague* in the consulship, Virginius, to command one of the four bodies, ἑτέρας δὲ ΤΟΝ ΣΥΝΥΠΑΤΟΝ Οὐερβίνιον ἐλάξεν ἀρχεῖν.

was commanded by Postumius, the dictator, in person, who proposed to encounter Titus Tarquinius, and the Roman exiles. The numbers of each army, when drawn up, were, on the side of the Romans, twenty three thousand seven hundred foot, and one thousand horse; and on That of the Latines, and their allies, near forty thousand foot, and three thousand horse.

VI. When they were going to ingage, the Latin generals called their men together, and said many things tending to incite them to fight bravely, and repeated their intreaties to that purpose: And the Roman dictator, seeing his people possessed with fear, because they were going to encounter an army greatly superior in number to their own, and desiring to dispel that fear, assembled his soldiers; and, placing near him the senators of the greatest age, and the greatest dignity, he spoke to them in the following manner: “ The gods, by
 “ omens, sacrifices, and other auguries, promise to grant to
 “ our commonwealth liberty, and a happy victory, in return
 “ for the piety, and the justice we have shewn during the
 “ whole course of our lives, and from a just resentment
 “ against our enemies; who, having received many great
 “ benefits from us, being both our relations, and friends,
 “ and, having sworn to look upon all our enemies, and
 “ friends, as their own, have despised all these obligations, and
 “ brought an unjust war upon us, not with a view to dis-
 “ pute the sovereignty, and dominion (for this would be less
 “ afflicting) but in support of the tyranny of the Tarquini, and to compel us, from being free, to become slaves to them.

“ You, therefore, ought, both officers, and soldiers, since
“ you are sensible you have the gods for your allies, who
“ always preserve our city, to behave yourselves with bravery
“ in this battle ; remembering that they give their assistance
“ to those, who fight bravely, and, chearfully, contribute
“ every thing in their power to the victory ; not to those,
“ who fly from danger ; but to such, as expose themselves
“ to it with perseverance. You have many other advantages,
“ also, conducive to victory, already prepared for you by
“ fortune, but, chiefly, three, which are, of all others, the
“ most considerable, and the most obvious.

VII. “ First, the confidence you have in one another,
“ which is a thing, absolutely, necessary to gain the victory :
“ For you are not to look upon yourselves, as beginning,
“ this day, to be firm friends, and faithful allies to one
“ another, but your country has, long since, prepared this
“ happiness for you all ; you have been brought up together,
“ and have received one common education ; you have
“ sacrificed to the gods upon the same altars ; you have
“ enjoyed many common advantages, and have experienced
“ many common evils ; by which, strong, and indissoluble
“ friendships are formed among all men ; which friendships
“ shew themselves when a battle, common to all, is to be
“ fought, in which the greatest interests are at stake : For,
“ if you are overcome by the enemy, the consequence will
“ not be that some of you will be treated with no severity,
“ and others suffer the last of punishments ; but all of you
“ will, equally, lose your dignity, your sovereignty, your
“ liberty,

“ liberty, and, no longer, possess your wives, your children,
 “ your fortunes, or any other happiness you, now, enjoy ; and
 “ all the men of dignity, and authority among us will suffer a
 “ most miserable death in the midst of stripes, and torments :
 “ For, if our enemies, without having received any kind of
 “ injury, have accumulated on all of us indignities of every
 “ sort, what ought we to expect from them, if they, now,
 “ overcome us ; when they will resent our having driven
 “ them from their cities, deprived them of their fortunes, and
 “ not suffered them, even, to set a foot upon the lands of their
 “ ancestors ? The last advantage we have over our enemies
 “ cannot be thought less than either of Those I have men-
 “ tioned, if you consider it properly ; which is, that the forces,
 “ we are to encounter, are not so formidable as we conceived
 “ them to be, but far short of the opinion we had entertained
 “ of them : For, except the auxiliary forces of the Antiates,
 “ you see no other allies present with them : While we ex-
 “ pected that all the Volsci, and many of the Sabines, and
 “ Hernici would have joined them ; besides a thousand other
 “ vain fears we formed to ourselves. But all these things
 “ were, only, the dreams of the Latines, founded on delusive
 “ promises, and ineffectual hopes : For some of their allies
 “ have given over all thoughts of assisting them, from a con-
 “ tempt of the incapacity of their generals : Others, instead of
 “ assisting them, will pretend to do it, and consume the time
 “ in feeding them with hopes : And those, who are, now,
 “ preparing to assist them, will stay till the battle is over,
 “ and, then, be of no further use to them.

VIII. “ But, if any of you are convinced of the reason-
 “ ableness of what I have advanced, yet fear the numbers
 “ of the enemy, a short instruction, or rather their own
 “ remembrance, will teach them that they fear things not
 “ formidable. Let them consider, in the first place, that the
 “ greatest part of them are forced to take arms against us,
 “ as they have, often, shewn both by their actions, and their
 “ discourses; and that the number of those, who, willingly,
 “ and, cheerfully, fight for the tyrants, is, extremely, small,
 “ and not, in any degree, equal to our army. Secondly, that,
 “ in all engagements, the bravest, not the most numerous
 “ forces, gain the victory. It would be tedious to alledge,
 “ as examples, how many vast armies of Barbarians have
 “ been overcome by very small numbers of ⁶ Greeks, so as to
 “ render the relations of those victories, even, incredible to
 “ the generality of mankind. But, to omit other things,
 “ how many battles have you yourselves gained with fewer
 “ forces, than your present army consists of, against enemies

⁶. Ελληνων. I look upon this word to have been misplaced by the transcribers, and am convinced that the sentence ought to be read thus; *ὅσα Βαρβαρων στρατευματα υπερεβαλλοντα πληθει μικραι πανν Ελληνων κατηγωνισαντο δυναμεις*. I thought this might allude to the victory gained by the Greeks at ^f Marathon with 10,000 men, over the Persians, whose army consisted of no less than 300,000; a victory, which our author might, justly, say was scarce credible: However, I find upon exa-

mination, that the battle of Marathon happened above five years after this, viz. in the third year of the seventy second Olympiad: But no history that I know of informs us that vast armies of Greeks were ever defeated by others considerably less numerous; which must be the sense, if we read the text as it stands in all the editions, and manuscripts; *ὅσα Βαρβαρων τε και Ελληνων στρατευματα υπερεβαλλοντα πληθει μικραι πανν κατηγωνισαντο δυναμεις*.

^f Usher, p. 96. Petavius, part. prim. B. iii. c. 1. Valerius Maxim. B. v. c. 3. Plutarch in Parall.

“ more

“ more numerous, than Those you are, now, going to en-
 “ counter ? It may be said that you have, indeed, continued
 “ to be formidable to those you have, once, overcome in
 “ battle ; while you may be despised by these Latines, and
 “ their allies, the Volsci, because they have never experienced
 “ your bravery : But you all know that your fathers have
 “ overcome both these nations in many battles. Can it,
 “ then, be, reasonably, supposed that the condition of the
 “ conquered is improved by so many defeats, and That of
 “ the conquerors impaired by so many victories ? What
 “ man of sense will say this ? I should wonder, indeed, if
 “ any of you looked upon the numbers of the enemy, in
 “ which there are few brave men, with terror, and with
 “ contempt upon their own army, which is so numerous,
 “ and so brave, that none, exceeding it either in courage,
 “ or in numbers, was ever brought into the field in any of
 “ our former wars.

IX. “ This, also, citizens, ought to be the greatest in-
 “ citement to you neither to apprehend, nor avoid the
 “ dangers of the field, that the principal senators are all
 “ present, as you see, ready to share the common fortune
 “ of the war with you ; whom both their age, and the law
 “ have discharged from the service. Would it not, then,
 “ be shameful for you, who are in the vigor of your youth,
 “ to fly from danger, while these, who are past that age,
 “ pursue it ? That the alacrity of the old men, though
 “ unable to kill any of the enemy, should lead them to die,
 “ at least, for their country ; and that your youth, which
 “ may

“ may enjoy the double advantage of securing your own safety,
“ and gaining the victory, or, if that cannot be, of acting, and
“ suffering with bravery, should not induce you either to try
“ fortune, or leave behind you a glorious reputation? Is it not
“ true, Romans, that there have been many great, and won-
“ derful actions performed by others, before your time, which
“ no words can, sufficiently, celebrate; and that your posterity
“ will hear, with improvement, many illustrious actions per-
“ formed by their own ancestors, if you gain this victory? To
“ the end, therefore, that neither the bravery of those among
“ you, who are resolved to do their duty, may be unprof-
“ itable, nor the fears of such, as apprehend danger more than
“ becomes them, go unpunished, learn from me, before we
“ engage, what each of them are to expect: Whoever shall
“ perform any great, or brave action in this battle, and proves
“ it by the testimony of persons acquainted with that action,
“ I will, not only, reward him, immediately, with the honors,
“ which every man, upon these occasions, is intitled to by the
“ custom of his country, but will, also, add to those rewards a
“ part of the public lands, and put him in a condition above
“ wanting any thing, that is necessary for his subsistence. But,
“ if a cowardly, and accursed mind shall suggest to any one an
“ inclination to a shameful flight; to this man I will present
“ before his eyes the death he endeavoured to avoid: For
“ death is better than life to such a citizen, both for his
“ own, and his country’s sake. And whoever is put to death
“ in such a manner, shall be honoured neither with burial,
“ nor any other funeral rites; but, unregarded, unlamented,
“ be

“ be devoured by birds, and beasts of prey. Apprized,
 “ therefore, of these things, go all, chearfully, to the ingage-
 “ ment, with sanguine hopes, the guides to glorious actions,
 “ that, by this one battle, if attended with the success we
 “ all wish for, you will obtain the greatest of all advantages;
 “ you will free yourselves from the fear of the tyrants;
 “ repay to your country, that gave you birth, the obliga-
 “ tions she, justly, requires of you for your education;
 “ preserve your children, who are yet infants, and your
 “ wives from the irreparable treatment of your enemies;
 “ and render the short time your aged fathers have yet to
 “ live most agreeable to them: Happy those among you,
 “ to whom it will be given to celebrate the triumph for
 “ this victory, while your children, your wives, and fathers
 “ receive you! But glorious, and admired for their bravery
 “ will those be, who shall sacrifice their lives for their country!
 “ For death is decreed to all men, both to the cowardly,
 “ and the brave; but an illustrious, and a glorious death
 “ to the ⁷ brave alone.”

X. While he was displaying these incentives to valor, a kind of confidence, sent from heaven, seized the army, and they all, as if actuated with one soul, cried out together, *Fear not, and lead us on.* Upon which, Postumius commended their

⁷ Μενοίς τοις ἀλκίοις. This is the only speech in our author, that I could wish shorter. When I say this, I own that all the powers of eloquence are displayed in it. But I am afraid it will be said, *non erat his locus.* It signifies little whether this speech was, really, spoken by the dictator, or not: The

only point to be considered is, whether it can be supposed that he, or any other general, ever made a speech of this length, when his army was upon the point of engaging. I cannot help thinking that the *imperatoria brevitās* is full as effectual to animate the soldiers, and more becoming the general.

alacrity.

alacrity, and made a vow to the gods, if the battle was attended with a happy, and glorious event, to perform great, and costly sacrifices, and to institute magnificent games to be celebrated, annually, by the Roman people: After which, he dismissed his men to their ranks; and, as soon as they had received the word from their officers, and the trumpets sounded a charge, they gave a shout, and fell on: First, the light armed, and the horse, on each side; then the lines of the heavy armed men, both armed, and drawn up alike; and all mingling, a severe battle ensued, in which every man fought hand to hand. However, both sides were, extremely, deceived in the opinion they had entertained of each other: For, neither of them thought a battle would be necessary, but expected to put the enemy to flight at the first onset. The Latines, confiding in the number of their horse, concluded That of the Romans would not be able, even, to sustain their shock: And the Romans imagined that, by rushing into the midst of danger in a daring, and inconsiderate manner, they should terrify their enemies. Having formed this opinion of one another in the beginning, every thing they saw contradicted it. Each side, therefore, founding, no longer, their hopes of preservation, and of victory on the fear of the enemy, but on their own courage, shewed themselves brave soldiers, even beyond their power. Various, and fluctuating was the fortune of the day.

XI. First, the Romans posted in the center, where the dictator Postumius stood with a chosen body of horse
about

about him, he himself fighting among the foremost, forced that part of the enemy, that stood opposite to them, Titus, one of the sons of Tarquinius, being wounded in the right shoulder with a javelin, and, no longer able to use his hand (for ⁸ Licinnius, and Gellius, without inquiring into the probability, or possibility of the thing, introduce king Tarquinius himself, a man, then, near ninety years of age, fighting on horseback, and wounded) Titus falling, those about him, having fought a little while, and carried him off while he was yet alive, shewed no bravery after that; but retired, by degrees, as the Romans pressed them. After this, Sextus, the other son of Tarquinius, coming to their relief with the Roman exiles, and a body of chosen horse, they, again, stood their ground, and attacked the enemy: These, therefore, recovering themselves, fought again. In the mean time, Titus Aebutius, and Mamilius Octavius, the commanders of their respective wings, fought in the most distinguished manner, driving their enemies before them wherever they charged, and rallying their men when disordered; then, challenged one another, and fought: And, in the conflict, gave one another grievous wounds, but none mortal; the general of the horse, piercing the corslet of Mamilius with his spear, lodged the point of it in his breast; and Mamilius running the other through the middle of his right arm, they fell from their horses.

⁸ Λικιννιος, και οι περι Γελλιον. See the twenty fifth annotation on the first book. I do not think it necessary to translate a note of Casaubon upon this occasion, as M. * * *, and le Jay have

done, in order to produce instances from history of several persons, who have enjoyed great vigor at ninety years of age. But this I know, that, if I had translated his note, I should have owned it.

XII. Both of them being carried out of the field, Marcus Valerius, who had been appointed ⁹ legate, took upon himself the command of the general of the horse, and attacked Those of the enemy in front; and, after a short resistance, was driven far out of the line: For this body of the enemy had been, also, reinforced by a detachment of horse, consisting of the Roman exiles, and by light armed men: And Mamilius, having recovered himself from his wound, appeared in the field again, and was come up with a strong body both of horse, and light armed foot. In this action, fell Marcus Valerius, the legate, wounded with a spear; the same person, who first triumphed over the Sabines, and raised the spirit of the commonwealth, sunk by the defeat she had received from the Tyrrhenians; and, round him, fell many other worthy, and brave Romans. Both sides endeavouring to carry off his body, a sharp conflict ensued, while Publius, and Marcus, the sons of Poplicola, protected their uncle with their shields: However, these carried him off unspoiled; and, delivering him to their shield-bearers, while he yet breathed a little, they sent him to the camp: Then,

⁹ Προβουλης. I must desire leave of the reader to translate this word, *Legate*, whenever I meet with it. I find the French translators have said *Lieutenant*, and *Lieutenant Colonel*, which, by the way, does not give the signification of *Legatus*; since it supposes this officer to be inferior to the *Tribuni*, which he, certainly, was not. If I thought myself justified in giving modern names to all the Roman officers, I should rather

translate *Legatus*, a *Lieutenant general*, which is more answerable to his post. It is well known that there were two sorts of *Legati* among the Romans; the first, ambassadors, and the other, military officers. The popes have preserved the name of the first with the addition of *a latere*; vainly imagining that this pretence can intitle them to the same consideration as the ambassadors of ancient Rome.

throwing

throwing themselves into the midst of the enemy through fury, and ardor; and, having received many wounds from the Roman exiles, who attacked them, closely, on all sides, they died together. After this misfortune, the line of the Romans was forced to give way; and the whole left wing was broken, even, to the center. When the dictator observed the flight of his men, he flew to their assistance with all the horse he had about him; and ordered the other legate, Titus Herminius, to take a troop of horse; and, passing behind their own lines, to force the men, who fled, to face about; and, if they refused obedience, to kill them; and he himself, with the best of his men, pushed on towards the body of the enemy: And, when he came near them, he clapped spurs to his horse before any of the rest, and charged them with a loose rein; and all his men falling on together in this terrible manner, the enemy, unable to sustain the wild, and savage shock, fled, and many of them fell. In the mean time, the legate, Herminius also, having rallied those, who fled, brought them up, and attacked that part of the enemy, that stood formed under Mamilius; and encountering this general, who, both for his stature, and his strength, was the most remarkable man of his time, he killed him; and he himself, while he was spoiling the body, received a wound in his side with a sword by some person, and fell dead. Sextus Tarquinius, who commanded the left wing of the Latines, maintained his post all this while in the midst of dangers, and forced the right wing of the Romans to give way: But, when he saw Postumius advancing with the chosen horse, he gave over all hopes; and rushed

into the midst of the enemy's ranks; where, being surrounded by the Romans, both horse, and foot, and, like a wild beast assaulted on all sides with missive weapons, he fell; but not before he had killed many of those, who attacked him sword in hand. The generals being slain, all the Latines fled at once; and their camp, abandoned by the men, who had been left to guard it, was taken: In which the Romans found a very considerable booty. This was the greatest defeat the Latines had ever suffered; the ill effects of which lasted very long, and their loss was greater than any they had, before, sustained: For, of forty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, as I said, not ten thousand men returned home in safety.

XIII. It is said that, in this battle, two men, on horseback, far excelling the offspring of human nature, both in beauty, and in stature, and just in their prime, appeared to Postumius, and to those about him, and charged at the head of the Roman horse, wounding with their spears all they encountered, and driving the Latines before them: And, after these were put to flight, and their camp taken, the battle being, now, over, two youths are said to have appeared in the same manner, about the beginning of the night, in the Roman forum, attired in military habits, very tall, and beautiful, and of the same age, themselves retaining the looks of combatants just coming from a battle, and the horses they rode being all in a sweat. When, each of them dismounting, and washing themselves in the fountain, which, rising near the temple of Vesta, forms a small, but deep basin, many people standing
about

about them, and inquiring if they had brought any news from the camp, they related the particulars of the battle, and that the Romans had gained the victory. They add that, after they left the forum, they were no more seen, notwithstanding the great search, that was made after them by the governor of the city. The next day, when the persons intrusted with the care of the commonwealth, received the letters sent by the dictator, by which, among the other circumstances of the action, they were informed, also, of the apparition of these gods, they concluded that the same had appeared in both places, as might reasonably be imagined, and believed that the divinities, who had so appeared, were Castor, and Pollux. Of this extraordinary, and wonderful apparition of these gods there are many monuments at Rome, as the temple of Castor, and Pollux, which the Roman people erected in the forum, where they had appeared; and the fountain near it, said to be consecrated to them, and thought to be so to this day; and also the magnificent sacrifices, which the people offer, every year, by the ministry of the most considerable knights, ¹⁰ on the ides of the month, called Quintilis, which was the day, on which they gained this victory: But, above all these things, the memory

¹⁰ Εν μηνι Κυϊντλilιω. Aux ides du mois appelé *Quintilius*, says M. ***. There never was such a month in the Roman calendar as *Quintilius*: He should have said *Quintilis*; afterwards called *Julius*, in flattery to Julius Caesar, who was born in that month: On the ides (the

fifteenth) of which was celebrated this procession, called by the Romans, *transvectio equitum Romanorum*. ^h Livy attributes the institution of this procession to Fabius Maximus; *ab eodem institutum dicitur, ut equites Idibus Quintilibus transveberentur*.

^h B. ix. c. 46.

of it is perpetuated by a procession, performed after the sacrifice, by those, who have a ¹¹ horse maintained by the public; and who, being disposed in their tribes, and centuries, ride all in their ranks, as if they came from battle, crowned with olive branches, and attired in robes with ¹² purple borders, and stripes of the same color, which they call *Trabeae*: They begin their procession from a certain temple of Mars, that stands without the walls; and, going through several parts of the city, and the forum, they pass by the temple of Castor, and Pollux, sometimes to the number, even, of five thousand, carrying all the ornaments they have received from their generals, as the rewards of the valor they have shewn in battle: A fine sight, and worthy the greatness of their empire. These are the things I find to be related, and performed by the Romans in memory of the apparition of Castor, and Pollux; by which, among many other instances of great moment, one may judge how much the men of those times were cherished by the gods.

¹¹. Τον δημοσίων ἵππων. Instead of repeating what I have, already, said concerning the Roman knights, I shall refer the reader to the twenty eighth annotation on the second book. However, I cannot omit taking notice of a mistake committed by M. * * * in his note upon this passage. I think myself obliged to quote his words; *les chevaliers s'appelloient en Latin equites, de même que les soldats qui composoient la cavalerie Romaine: mais il y avoit cette différence, que ceuxci entretenoient à leurs frais le cheval, dont ils se servoient dans les batailles, au lieu que*

celui des premiers étoit entretenu aux dépens du public. This difference is, absolutely, chimerical. From the time of Romulus, to Marius, the Romans had no other cavalry but the knights, whose horses were maintained by the public, and who constituted the equestrian order. This, I think, I have proved, in the annotation referred to, by several authorities; particularly by That of Livy, from whom I have there quoted a passage, which, to me, appears decisive.

¹². Φοινικοπαρυφες. See the 138th annotation on the second book.

XIV. Postumius incamped that night in the field; and, the next day, he crowned those, who had distinguished themselves in the battle; and, having appointed guards to take care of the prisoners, he sacrificed to the gods in thanksgiving for the victory: While he had yet his crown on his head, and was laying the first offering on the altar to be consumed with fire, some scouts, running down from the eminences, brought him word that an army of enemies was marching against him: This consisted of the chosen youth of the Volscian nation, who had been sent out, as auxiliaries, to the Latines before the battle was ended. Upon this information, he ordered all his men to their arms, and that every one should stay in the camp under his proper ensigns, keeping themselves upon their guard, and in their ranks, till he himself should order them what to do. On the other side, the generals of the Volsci, incamping in a place, where they could ¹³ not be observed by the Romans, when they saw the field covered with dead bodies, and the tents in both camps standing, and that none of their enemies, or friends stirred out of their intrenchments, they were, for some time, amazed, and at a loss to guess what turn of fortune had produced this situation of affairs: But, being informed by those, who had escaped from the defeat, of all the circumstances of the battle, they consulted with their officers what was to be done. The boldest of them were of opinion, that the best thing they could do was

¹³. Εξ ἀποπλῆ. As this word signifies *invisible*, as well as *conspicuous*, the translators had their choice. I have

given it the first sense, which seems to imply greater caution.

to attack the camp of the Romans, while many of them were yet disabled with their wounds, and all tired with the labor of the day, their arms useless, some being blunted, and others broken, and no fresh forces from Rome yet at hand to relieve them. On the other side, they said their own army was numerous, full of courage, bravely armed, experienced in war, and, by appearing unexpectedly, was sure to astonish, even, the boldest.

XV. But the most prudent among them did not think it safe, without allies, to run the hazard of attacking men well acquainted with military discipline, who had just defeated so great an army of the Latines; or to commit their greatest interests to the danger of an engagement in a foreign country, where, if any misfortune happened, they had no place of safety to retire to. These advised, therefore, to provide rather for a safe retreat to their own country as soon as possible, and to look upon it as a great advantage, if they sustained no loss in this expedition. But others disapproved of both these measures, and shewed that the eagerness for an engagement was juvenile, and the ridiculous flight to their own country, shameful; and that either of these was the object of the enemy's wishes: Their opinion, therefore, was, that, at present, they ought to fortify their camp, and prepare every thing for a battle; and that, dispatching messengers to the rest of the Volsci, they should desire them to do one of these two things, either to send another army of equal strength to That of the Romans, or, recal the forces they had, already, sent out. But the opinion, that prevailed with

with the greatest part, and received the sanction of the men in power, was to send spies to the Roman camp, secured by the quality of ambassadors, to salute the general, and acquaint him that, as allies of the Romans, sent by the Volscian nation, they were sorry they came too late for the battle, as being intitled to little, or no thanks for their zeal: However, that they congratulated the good fortune of the Romans, in having gained a great victory, without the assistance of their allies. After the ambassadors had imposed upon the Romans by this officious discourse, and prevailed on these to confide in them, as in their friends, they were to examine every thing, and acquaint the generals of the Volsci, at their return, with their numbers, the condition of their arms, and their preparations, and whether they proposed to execute any design: And that, after they were, thoroughly, acquainted with these things, they would deliberate whether it were expedient to send for fresh forces, and attack the Romans, or to return home with the army they had with them.

XVI. After they had taken this resolution, the ambassadors they had chosen went to the dictator; and, being introduced to the assembly, they spoke in the deceitful manner they had been instructed. When Postumius, after a short pause, said; “ You have brought with you, Volsci,
 “ evil designs clothed with good words; and, while you act
 “ like enemies, you desire to appear like friends: For you
 “ were sent by your nation to assist the Latines against us;
 “ but, arriving after the battle, and seeing them overcome,
 VOL. III. E “ you

“ you want to deceive us, by pretending designs contrary to
“ Those you, really, entertained: And neither the good-
“ will you express, which you have calculated for the present
“ juncture, nor the pretence, under which you are come
“ hither, have any sincerity in them; but are full of fraud,
“ and deceit: For you were not sent to congratulate our
“ good fortune, but to examine into the weakness, or strength
“ of our condition; and you are ambassadors in appearance,
“ but spies in reality.” And, when the others denied every
thing he had charged them with, he said he would soon
convince them of the truth of it: And, presently, shewed
them their letters, which he had intercepted before the
battle, to the generals of the Latines, in which they promised
to send forces to their assistance; and produced the persons,
who were carrying those letters. After these were read, and
the prisoners had given an account of the orders they had re-
ceived, the common soldiers were going to stone the Volsci,
as spies taken in the fact: But Postumius thought that good
men ought not to imitate the wicked; saying, it would
become them more, and shew more greatness of mind to
reserve their anger against the senders, rather than against
the sent; and to dismiss the men, in consideration of their
apparent title of ambassadors, rather than to put them to death
in consideration of their disguised quality of spies; lest they
should give a specious color either of war to the Volsci,
while they pretended their ambassadors were put to death,
contrary to the right of nations, or to their other enemies of
propagating reports, which, though false, would appear
neither ill-grounded, nor incredible. XVII.

XVII. Having, thus, put a stop to the fury of the foldiers, he commanded the men to be difmiffed, and to return¹⁴ without looking back ; and ordered them a guard of horfe, who conducted them to the camp of the Volsci. After he had fend away the fpies, he commanded the foldiers to prepare for battle, as defigning, the next day, to ingage. But there was no occafion for a battle : For the generals of the Volsci decamped in the middle of the night, and returned home. All things having fucceeded to his wifh, he buried his own dead ; and, having purified his army, returned to the city, and celebrated a magnificent triumph, carrying with him heaps of arms on many carts, together with a great quantity of military ftore, followed by five thoufand five hundred prifoners, taken in the laft battle. And, having fet apart the tenths of the fpoils, he employed¹⁵ forty talents in performing games, and fâcrifices to the gods ; and contracted for the building temples to Ceres, Bacchus, and Proferpine, in performance of his vow : For, in the beginning of the war, there had been a fcarcity of provifions for the army, a failure of which was, greatly, apprehended, the land having lain uncultivated, and the importation of provifions been ftopped, by reafon of the war : Induced by this apprehenfion, he had ordered the guardians of the Sibylline books to confult them ; and, finding that the

¹⁴ Αμείλασπεν. The Latin translators might have rendered this word much better than they have done, by *sine refpectu* ; as¹ Livy fays of Philip, when he received a check from T.

Quintius Flamininus, *Rex primo effufe, ac sine refpectu fugit.*

¹⁵ Τεττερακοντα ταλαντα. In our money, 7750 pounds.

¹B. xxxii. c. 12.

oracles ordered these gods to be rendered propitious, he made a vow to them, when he was going to take the field, that, if there was the same plenty of provisions in the city, during the time of his magistracy, as before, he would build temples, and appoint sacrifices to be performed to them every year. These gods, hearing his prayer, caused the land to produce abundant crops, not only, of corn, but, also, of fruit; and all foreign provisions to be imported in greater plenty, than before. Which when Postumius himself saw, he ordered the temples to be built. The Romans, therefore, having, through the benevolence of the gods, repelled the war, brought upon them for the restoration of the tyrants, employed their time in feasts, and sacrifices.

XVIII. A few days after, ambassadors came to them from the Latin nation, chosen out of all their cities (being the ¹⁶ same persons, who had, all along, declared against the war) holding up ¹⁷ olive branches, and other marks of suppliants. These, being introduced into the senate, first, accused the men of power, in every city, of having been the

¹⁶. Οἱ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐχούτες περὶ τῆς πολέμου γνώμην. The two French translators have said, *qui s'étoient opposées à la guerre*. This every body, who understands French, will see relates to the cities, not to the ambassadors; which is contrary to the Greek text, where it stands οἱ ἐχούτες, not οἱ ἐχέσσαι. And these ambassadors say, in excuse of the Latines, that their cities were influenced by the men of power, when they declared for the war; which men of

power these ambassadors had opposed.

¹⁷. Ἰκέληρια. ^k Livy will explain this Greek custom: In giving an account of the suppliant manner, in which the Locrenian ambassadors addressed their complaints to the Roman consuls against Pleminius, he says; *decem legati Locrensiū obsiti squallore et sordibus, in Comitio sedentibus consulibus, velamenta supplicum, ramos oleae (ut Graecis mos est) porrigentes, ante tribunal cum flebili vociferatione procubuerunt*.

^k B. xxix. c. 16.

cause of the war; and that the people had been guilty but of one fault, which was, of having been deluded by their corrupt demagogues, who had nothing else in view but their private advantages. And, for this delusion, in which necessity had the greatest share, they said, every city had, already, been, severely, punished by the loss of the best of their youth; so that, it was not easy to find a single family, that was not in mourning. They desired the Romans would receive those, who, willingly, submitted to them, and had no intention, any longer, either to contest the sovereignty with them, or to pretend to an equality; but were resolved to continue, ever after, to be their allies, and subjects, and to add to the happiness of the Romans all that dignity, which fortune had taken from the Latines. At the end of their speech, they called upon the affinity, that subsisted between the two nations, and put them in mind of the many occasions, where they had, formerly, assisted them without ever excusing themselves, and bewailed the misfortunes, that would fall on the innocent, who were many more in number, than the guilty; accompanying every thing they said with tears; embracing the knees of all the senators; and laying the ensigns of suppliants at the feet of Postumius: So that, the whole senate were affected, in some degree, with their tears, and intreaties.

XIX. After the ambassadors withdrew, and liberty was given to the senators, who, usually, delivered their opinions, Titus Lartius, who had been the first dictator,
three

¹⁸ three years before, advised them to use their good fortune with moderation, saying, that the greatest praise, that could be given to a whole people, as well as to individuals, was not to be corrupted with prosperity, but to bear good fortune with temperance, and moderation: For all prosperity was envied, particularly, That, which was attended with arrogance, and rigor to the humbled, and subdued. That they ought not to rely on fortune, they, who, by their own adversity, and prosperity, had experienced how inconstant she is, and subject to sudden changes: Neither ought they to reduce their adversaries to a necessity of running the greatest hazards, which necessity renders men ¹⁹daring beyond their judgement, and brave beyond their power. He said, they had reason to be afraid of drawing upon themselves the general hatred of all they proposed to command, if they

¹⁸. Τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνισυλῶ. Sylburgius, and, after him, M. ***, have observed that Lartius had been dictator three years before. This must, therefore, be an error in the transcriber.

¹⁹. Παρα γνῶμην τολμῆσαι — καὶ ὑπερδυναμὶν μαχεῖσθαι. Whoever has read Thucydides with attention will see, at first sight, that our author has imitated him upon this occasion. The Corinthian ambassadors, in comparing the character of the Athenians with That of the Lacedaemonians, say of the former, or rather, ¹Thucydides says for them, οἱ μὲν, καὶ παρὰ δυνάμιν τολμῆσαι, καὶ παρὰ γνῶμην κινδυνεύουσι, etc. I was surpris'd to find that Valla has translated παρὰ γνῶμην, *praeter hominum*

opinionem. This I do not take to be the sense of the Greek words either in Thucydides, or in our author, though I observe that Portus has given this sense to them, when he says, *praeter omnem expectationem*. As for the French translators, their versions of this passage are nothing but loose paraphrases, which deserve not to be transcribed. But, to return to this expression, I have rendered it, as if the words were, παρὰ τὴν ἐαυτῶν γνῶμην, not παρὰ τὴν πάντων γνῶμην, which last is the sense the two Latin translators I mentioned, have given to this passage; and the former is the sense, I find, Hobbes has given to the words of Thucydides, when he says, *adventurous above their own reason*.

¹B. i. c. 70.

punished the guilty in a severe, and inexorable manner, as if they had abandoned their usual maxims, forgetting they owed to them their present lustre, and transformed their sovereignty from a command, and a preeminence, which it was before, to a tyranny. He added that errors are moderate, and do not deserve indignation, when a people, zealous for liberty, and, formerly, accustomed to command, are tenacious of their ancient dignity: And, if those, who aim at the greatest things, are to be punished in an irreparable manner, when they are disappointed of their hopes, nothing can hinder the whole race of men from being destroyed by one another: For all men have an innate desire of liberty. He shewed that the government, which sought to subdue its subjects by benefits, was far better, and more firmly established, than That, which sought to subdue them by punishments; the former producing love, and the latter, terror. And there was a necessity, founded on nature, that every thing, that was terrible, should be, particularly, detested. At the end of his speech, he desired they would take example from the best actions of their ancestors, by which they gained commendation; and he recounted the many cities they had taken by storm, which they had not demolished; neither had they killed the inhabitants, who were men grown, nor enslaved them; but, by making those cities Roman colonies, and by communicating the privileges of Roman citizens to such of the conquered, as desired to live at Rome, they had aggrandized their city. The substance of his opinion was, to renew the treaties they had, before, made with the

Latin

Latin nation, and to retain no resentment against any of the cities for the errors they had been guilty of.

XX. Servius Sulpicius opposed nothing the other had said concerning the peace, and the renewal of the treaties; but said his opinion was (since the Latines had first violated those treaties, and that this was not the first time they had done so, which might deserve some forgiveness, as they pretended necessity, and delusion, but they had, often, broken them before, which deserved correction) that impunity, and liberty be granted to all of them, by reason of their affinity; but that one half of their lands be taken from them, and a Roman colony sent thither, among whom they should be divided by lot, who would enjoy the produce of those lands, and prevent the Latines from raising further disturbances. Spurius Cassius advised to rase their cities, saying he wondered at the folly of those, who desired their crimes might go unpunished; and who could not see that, through the inbred, and unalterable envy, with which they were animated against the rising power of Rome, they were, ever, contriving to raise successive wars against them, and that they would never, willingly, give over their treacherous designs, while they were possessed with this unfortunate passion: That they had, lately, endeavoured to reduce a people, related to them, under the power of tyrants, more savage than any wild beasts, and had trampled upon all the treaties they had sworn by the gods to observe, being induced to it by no other hopes than that, if the war did not succeed according to their expectation, they should incur either no punishment
at

at all, or a very flight one. And he, also, desired them to take example from the actions of their ancestors, who, when they observed the city of Alba, of which they themselves, and all the other Latin cities were colonies, to envy their prosperity, and to have made use of the impunity they had obtained for their first transgressions, as an opportunity of multiplying their treacheries, they resolved to destroy it in one day; looking upon it that there was no difference between pitying none, who had committed small faults, and punishing none, who had committed the greatest, and the most incorrigible crimes: And that it would be an act of great folly, and insensibility, not of humanity, and moderation in those, who could not bear the envy of their mother city, when it appeared beyond measure grievous, and intolerable, to submit to That of their relations; and who had punished enemies convicted of being so in fewer instances, by depriving them of their country, to exact no punishment from such, as had, often, shewn their irreconcilable hatred to them. Having said this, and enumerated all the rebellions of the Latines, and put the senate in mind of the vast number of Romans, who had lost their lives in the wars against them, he advised to treat them in the same manner they had, formerly, treated the Albans; to rase their cities, and add their territories to Those of the Romans; to grant the rights of Roman citizens to such of the inhabitants, as had shewn any affection towards their commonwealth, and to suffer them to enjoy their fortunes; to put to death, as traitors, the authors of the revolt, by whom the

treaties had been dissolved; and, as to the poorer sort of the people, the lazy, and the useless, to make them slaves.

XXI. These were the opinions of the leading men of the senate: But the dictator giving the preference to That of Lartius, and no further opposition being made to it, the ambassadors were called in to receive their answer: When Postumius, after reproaching them with an evil disposition never to be reformed, said; “ We should do an act of justice, “ if we treated you with the utmost severity, a treatment “ you had prepared for us, if the many attempts you have “ made against us had succeeded. However, the Romans “ have resolved not to prefer justice to clemency; because “ they consider that the Latines are their relations, and have “ had recourse to the mercy of those they had injured; but “ to acquit them of the punishment due to these offences “ also, as well from a regard to the gods, who preside over “ consanguinity, as to the instability of Fortune, to whom “ they owe their victory. At present, therefore, return, “ says he, perfectly free; and, after you have released the “ prisoners; delivered up the deserters, and expelled the “ exiles, then send ambassadors to us to treat of friendship, “ and of an alliance, with this assurance that they shall “ obtain every thing, that is reasonable.” The ambassadors, having received this answer, departed: And, a few days after, returned, having released the prisoners, and sent away Tarquinius, and the exiles; bringing with them all the deserters they could find, in chains. In consideration of which, they obtained of the senate a treaty of friendship, and alliance
upon

upon the same terms with the former ; and renewed the oaths, before taken concerning it, by the interposition of the *Feciales*. Thus ended the war, which the Romans had carried on against the tyrants, after it had lasted fourteen years from their expulsion. After this, Tarquinius (for he still survived his family) being, now, near ninety years of age, and having lost his children, and his son-in-law, passed a miserable old age among those, who hated him ; and, when neither the Latines, the Tyrrhenians, the Sabines, nor any other free people in those parts, would suffer him to reside in their cities, he retired to Cumae in Campania, and was received by Aristodemus, surnamed Malachus, who was, at that time, tyrant of the Cumaeans : And, having lived a few days there, he died, and was buried by him. Some of the exiles, who had followed his fortunes, remained at Cumae ; and the rest, dispersing themselves in other cities, ended their days in banishment.

XXII. After the Romans had put an end to the foreign wars, the civil sedition sprung up again : For the senate ordered the courts of justice to sit, and that all suits, which they had respited on account of the war, should be determined according to the laws. The contests, arising from the contracts, produced great storms, and terrible instances of an insolent, and shameless behaviour ; the common people pretending that, as the country had been laid waste by a long war, their cattle destroyed, the number of their slaves reduced by desertion, and the incursions of the enemy, and the fortunes they had in the city, consumed by their expences

in the war, they were under an impossibility of paying their debts: And, on the other side, the creditors alledged that these calamities had been common to all, and not confined to the debtors only, and thought it was insufferable for them to lose, not only, what they had been deprived of in the war by the enemy, but, also, what they had lent, during the peace, to some of the citizens, who wanted their assistance. So that, the creditors submitting to nothing that was reasonable, and the debtors to nothing that was just, and the former refusing to abate even the interest, and the latter to pay even the principal itself, frequent meetings were held by those, who were in the same circumstances, and the opposite parties faced one another in the forum; and, sometimes, skirmishes ensued; by all which, the whole system of the civil government was disordered. Postumius, who was, still, revered by men of all ranks, seeing this, thought it an advantageous measure to rescue the commonwealth from these civil storms by a difficult war; and, before he had finished the whole time of his sovereign magistracy, he abdicated the dictatorship; and, having fixed a day for the election of consuls, he, together with his colleague, appointed the usual magistrates.

XXIII. The consuls, invested, again, with the annual, and legal magistracy, were Appius Claudius Sabinus, and Publius Servilius Priscus; who, judging, rightly, that the greatest of all services they could do to the commonwealth, was to divert the civil tumult to a foreign war, were contriving that one of them should march with an army
against

againſt the Volſci; as well to take revenge of them for the ſuccours they had ſent to the Latines againſt the Romans, as to prevent their preparations, which, as yet, were not far advanced: For they, alſo, were reported to be raiſing an army with the greateſt activity, and ſending embaſſadors to the neighbouring nations to ſolicit them to enter into their alliance; being induced to take theſe ſteps from the account they had received that there was a diviſion between the plebeians, and the patricians, and from an opinion that it would be no difficult matter to make themſelves maſters of a city weakened by a domeſtic war. The conſuls, therefore, having reſolved, for theſe reaſons, to lead out an army, and their reſolution being approved of by the whole ſenate, they ordered all the youth to preſent themſelves on the day they had appointed to make their levies. But the plebeians, though, often, called to take the military oath; not obeying the conſuls, theſe were, no longer, unanimous. But, beginning from hence, they divided, and continued to oppoſe one another all the time of their magiſtracy. For Servilius was of opinion that they ought to take the milder way, and adhere to the maxims of Marcus Valerius, a moſt popular man, who adviſed to apply a remedy to the cauſe of the ſedition, by decreeing, above all things, an abolition, or, at leaſt, a diminution of the debts; but, if That could not be obtained, to forbid, for the preſent, the carrying to priſon any of the debtors, who had exceeded the day appointed for the payment of their debts; and, by exhortation, rather than force, to induce the poor to take the military oath,

and

and not to punish the disobedient, as in a city where concord reigned, in a severe, and inexorable manner, but with moderation, and mildness : For, he said, there was reason to apprehend that men, in want of the daily necessaries of life, if compelled to serve at their own expence, when met together, might commit some desperate act.

XXIV. On the other side, the opinion of Appius, the most considerable person among the patrons of the aristocracy, was severe and haughty ; he advised to indulge the people in nothing, but even to allow the creditors to compel the payment of the obligations, upon the terms they were intitled to, and that the consul, who remained in the city, should appoint the courts of justice to sit according to the established customs ; that the punishments, ordained by law, against those, who declined the service, be inflicted, and that they ought to yield to the people in nothing, that was not founded in justice, or join with them in establishing a destructive power : For, says he, they are, now, grown wanton beyond all measure, by being discharged of the tributes they, formerly, paid to the kings, and freed from the corporal punishments they suffered from them, when they did not, presently, yield obedience to all their commands. But, if they go further, and attempt any alteration in the constitution, or to exalt themselves, let us make use of the sober, and sound part of the citizens, who will be found more numerous than the disaffected, to suppress them. We are provided with no small strength to effect this, and the patrician youth is ready to obey our commands : But the
most

most formidable weapon of all, and the most difficult to be resisted, is the power of the senate; armed with which we shall subdue the plebeians, and strike them with terror, while we support the laws: Whereas, if we relax, and grant their demands, in the first place, we shall disgrace ourselves by giving up the government to the people, when we had it in our power to live under an aristocracy; and, in the next, we shall be exposed to the greatest danger of losing our liberty again, if any man, aiming at tyranny, should, by courting them, acquire a power superior to the laws. The consuls contesting in this manner, as well in private, as when the senate was assembled, and many siding with each, that assembly, tired with their altercation, and noise, and the indecent speeches, with which they abused one another, was dismissed, without coming to any salutary resolution.

XXV. Much time being consumed in these things, the other consul, Servilius (for it had fallen to his lot to command the army) having, by great intreaties, and conciliating the affections of the people, prevailed with them to assist in the war, took the field with an army not raised by compulsion, but consisting of volunteers, as the present juncture required, while the Volsci were yet employed in their preparations, and expected that the Romans, thus divided, and engaged in mutual animosities, would neither march against them with an army, nor dare to resist them, if attacked; and that they should be, intirely, at liberty to begin the war, whenever they thought fit: But, when those, who were designed to be attacked, became the aggressors, the most respectable
for

for their age among the Volsci, struck with the expedition of the Romans, went out of their cities with olive branches; and, delivering up themselves to Servilius, submitted to such treatment, as he should think fit to inflict on their offences: Who, taking from them provisions, and clothes for his army; and, chusing out of the most considerable families three hundred hostages, departed, looking upon the war as at an end. However, this did not prove an end of the war, but rather a delay, and an opportunity of making preparations to those, who had been surpris'd by the unexpected invasion. For the Roman army was no sooner gone, but the Volsci, again, prepared for war, by fortifying their towns, and reinforcing the garrisons of such places, as were proper to secure them against the enemy. The Hernici, and the Sabines espoused their quarrel openly, and many others privately: But the Latines, when embassadors were sent to them to desire their assistance, bound the men, and carried them to Rome. The senate, in return for their firm adherence to their alliance, and, yet more, for the alacrity they shewed to take a share in the war, (for they were ready to assist them of their own accord) granted to them a favor they knew they desired above all things, but were ashamed to ask it, which was to release the prisoners they had taken from them, during the wars, without ransom, the number of whom amounted to near six thousand; and, in order to give such a lustre to the present, as most became their affinity, they clothed them all with the apparel proper to free men. As to the offer of their assistance, the senate
told

told them they did not stand in need of it; and that the national forces of Rome were sufficient to chastize those, who had revolted from them. After they had given this answer to the Latines, they passed a vote for the war against the Volsci.

XXVI. While the senate was yet fitting, and considering what forces should be sent into the field, a man, advanced in years, appeared in the forum: He was dressed in rags, with his beard, and hair grown long; and, crying out, called upon the people for assistance. And all, who were near, flocking to him, he placed himself in a conspicuous part of the forum, and said; “ I was born free, and have served
 “ the whole time appointed by law; been present in twenty
 “ eight battles, and have, often, received the customary
 “ rewards for the superior bravery I have shewn in the wars;
 “ and, when the commonwealth was reduced to the last
 “ straits by the severity of the times, I was forced to
 “ contract a debt to pay the contributions levied upon me:
 “ My lands being laid waste by the incursions of the enemy,
 “ and my fortunes, in the city, exhausted by the scarcity of
 “ provisions, I, for these reasons, unable to discharge the
 “ debt, was carried away, as a slave, by my creditor, with my
 “ two sons; and my master ordering me to do some difficult
 “ work, and I, refusing to do it, was, severely, scourged.”
 After he had said this, he threw off his rags, and shewed his breast covered with scars, and his back bleeding with the stripes. This raising a general clamor, and lamentation in all present, the senate broke up, and the poor ran through

every street, each bewailing his own misfortunes, and imploring the assistance of his neighbour. At the same time, all, who were in slavery for their debts, rushed out of the houses of their creditors, with their hair grown long, and most of them in chains, and fetters, none daring to lay hold of them; and, if any offered to touch them, they were, violently, torne in pieces: Such a madness possessed the people at that time! and, presently, the forum was full of debtors, who had broken loose from their chains. Appius, therefore, fearing some attempt from the people, since he had been the cause of this mischief, fled from the forum. But Servilius, throwing off his robe bordered with purple, and casting himself in tears at the feet of every one of the plebeians, with difficulty prevailed upon them to be quiet that day, and to come the day after; assuring them the senate would take some care of their interest. Having said this, he ordered the cryer to make proclamation that no creditor should be at liberty to carry any of the citizens to prison for his debt, till the senate should come to a resolution concerning them; and that all present might go, with impunity, whithersoever they pleased: By which means, he appeased the sedition.

XXVII. Upon this, they left the forum for that time: But the next day, there appeared, not only, the inhabitants of the city, but all the people of the neighbouring country, and the forum was crowded by break of day. The senate being assembled to consider what was to be done, Appius called his colleague a flatterer of the people, and the ring-leader in their madness: On the other side, Servilius called him

him a severe, and haughty man, and the cause of the present mischiefs. And there was no end of their contests. In the mean time, some horsemen, sent by the Latines, came riding full speed to the forum, and gave notice that the enemy had taken the field with a great army, and were, already, upon their confines: This was the account they brought. Upon which, the patricians, and the whole body of the knights, together with all those, who were distinguished either by their fortunes, or the lustre of their ancestors, as having a great deal at stake, armed themselves in all haste. But the poor, and, particularly, such, as laboured under debts, neither meddled with arms, nor gave any other assistance to the commonwealth: But were pleased, and received the news of a foreign war, as a thing, that fell out to their wish, looking upon it as a cure for their present evils. To those, who desired them to take arms, they shewed their chains, and fetters, and asked them, in derision, whether it were worth their while to make war, in order to preserve those blessings. And many went so far as to say that it was better for them to be slaves to the Volsci, than to bear the abuses of the patricians. And, now, the city was filled with wailings, tumult, and all sorts of womanish lamentations.

XXVIII. The senators, seeing these things, begged of the other consul, Servilius, who seemed, in the present juncture, to have greater credit with the people, to relieve his country. Who, calling the people together, shewed them that the necessity of the times did not admit of civil contests, and besought them to march, at that time, against the enemy with

unanimity, and not suffer their country to be subverted, in which were the gods of their fathers, and the sepulchres of their ancestors, both most precious in the eyes of all men ; to respect their parents, unable, through age, to defend themselves ; to compassionate their wives, who must, presently, be exposed to dreadful, and unutterable abuses ; and, particularly, to pity their infant children, who, though brought up with better expectations, would be treated in the most injurious, insulting, and cruel manner : And, after they had, by a general effort, freed their country from the present danger, then he advised them to consider in what manner they should constitute an equal, common, and salutary form of government, in which neither the poor might defraud the rich of their fortunes, nor these insult the low condition of their inferiors ; neither of which became fellow-citizens ; and, also, what legal protection should be established on behalf of the poor, and what moderate relief given to the creditors. By this means, the Roman commonwealth would not be the only one, from which the faith of contracts, which is the greatest of all human benefits to the injured, and the guardian of concord in all governments, would be, totally, and, for ever, banished. After he had said this, and every thing else the occasion required, he put them in mind of the affection, which he himself had ever shewn to the people, and desired them to serve under him in this expedition in return for that affection, the government of the city being committed to his colleague, and the command of the army conferred upon himself, the lot having, thus, deter-
mined

mined their respective functions. He said, also, that the senate had promised him to confirm whatever concessions he should make to the people; and that he had promised the senate to persuade the people not to betray their country to the enemy.

XXIX. Having said this, he ordered the cryer to make proclamation that no person should be at liberty to seize, sell, or retain as pledges the houses of those Romans, who should march out with him against the Volsci, or carry their children to prison for any debt, and that none should hinder any, who desired it, from entering into the service: But, with regard to those, who should decline it, their creditors should have power to compel them to pay their debts, upon the terms each of them had advanced their money. When the poor heard this, they, presently, relaxed, and all shewed great ardor for the war; some, induced to it by the hopes of booty; others, by their affection to the general; but the greatest part, to avoid the fury of Appius, and the abusive treatment, to which those, who staid in the city, would be exposed. Servilius, putting himself at the head of the army, lost no time; but marched with great expedition, that he might engage the enemy, before they entered the Roman territories. And, finding them incamped in the Pometine plain, and foraging the country of the Latines, because, when solicited by them, they had refused to assist them in the war, he incamped, in the beginning of the night, upon a hill, distant about twenty stadia from the enemy. And, in the night, his army was attacked by the Volsci, who thought they were
few

few in number, tired with a long march, and in no disposition to fight, by reason of the commotions raised by the poor concerning their debts, which seemed then to be at their height. Servilius maintained the fight in his camp, as long as the night lasted; and, as soon as it was day, when he saw the enemy employed in plundering the country without observing any order, he commanded several gates of the camp to be opened privately, and, at one signal, sallied out with his army against them. The attack being sudden, surprised the Volsci; some few of whom, making resistance, were killed fighting near the intrenchments. And the rest, flying with precipitation, after the loss of many of their companions, saved themselves in their camp, the greatest part of them being wounded, and having lost their arms. The Romans, pursuing them close, invested them in their intrenchments; and, after a short defence, they delivered up their camp, which was full of slaves, cattle, arms, and all sorts of military stores. There were, also, many free men taken in it, some of them being of the Volscian nation, and others, belonging to the cities, which had assisted them: And, with these, as great a quantity of money both in gold, and silver, and of apparel, as if the richest city had been taken: All which Servilius ordered to be divided among the soldiers that every man might be benefited by the booty, and no part of it brought into the treasury; and, having set fire to the camp, he marched, with his army, to ²⁰ Sueſſa Pometia, being the city, that lay nearest: Which,

²⁰ Σουεſſα. Πωμεντιανη. See the fifty ninth annotation on the fourth book.

for its extent, the number of its inhabitants, and, also, for its glory, and riches, was, by far, the most considerable city belonging to the enemy, and as the capital of the nation. This place he invested; and, attacking it night, and day, without intermission, in order to tire the enemy out with want of sleep, and constant service, he subdued the besieged by famine, despair, and scarcity of men; took the town in a short time, and put to death all the inhabitants, who were men grown: And, having given the effects, that were found there also, to the soldiers, he marched against the rest of the enemy's cities, none of the Volsci being, now, in a condition to oppose him.

XXX. The Volsci being, thus, humbled by the Romans, the other consul, Appius Claudius, caused their hostages, to the number of three hundred, to be brought into the forum; and, to the end that all those, who had surrendered to the Romans, and given hostages for their fidelity, might be afraid of violating their treaties, he ordered them all to be, publicly, whipped, and then beheaded. And, when his colleague, a few days after, returned from his expedition, and demanded of the senate the honor of a triumph, usually granted to generals, who had distinguished themselves by their glorious exploits, he opposed it, calling him a factious man, and the favourer of a destructive form of government; and charged him, particularly, with having brought no part of the spoils into the treasury, but given the whole to those he thought fit: And, by this means, he prevailed upon the senate not to grant him the triumph. Servilius, looking
upon.

upon himself to be abused by the senate, behaved with an arrogance unusual to the Romans: For, having assembled the people in the field before the city; enumerated the actions he had performed in the war, and acquainted them both with the envy of his colleague, and the insult he had received from the senate, he told them that, from his own actions, and the army, which had a share in them, he derived a power of triumphing for the glorious, and fortunate success, with which those actions had been attended. And, having said this, he ordered the lictors to be crowned; and he himself, wearing a crown, and attired in a triumphal robe, entered the city, attended by all the people; and, ascending the capitol, performed his vows, and consecrated the spoils. By which action, he increased the envy of the patricians, but gained the favor of the plebeians.

XXXI. While the commonwealth was in this unsettled condition, a kind of truce intervened, caused by the customary sacrifices; and the festivals insuing, which were celebrated at a great expence, appeased the sedition of the people for the present. During the celebration of these festivals, the Sabines invaded them with a great army, having, long since, waited for this opportunity: They began their march as soon as it was dark, to the end that, before the Romans were apprized of it, they might approach the city: Which they might, easily, have taken, if some of their light-armed men had not straggled from the army; and, by plundering the country houses, given the alarm. Upon which, an outcry insued, and the husbandmen ran into the city before the enemy

enemy arrived at the gates. Those in the city were informed of this invasion, while they were seeing the public entertainments, and crowned with garlands ; when, leaving the games, they ran to arms : And an army of volunteers, presently, offered themselves to Servilius : Which he drew up ; and, with them, fell upon the enemy, who were tired both with want of sleep, and the length of their march, and did not expect to be attacked by the Romans. When the armies closed, a battle ensued ; in which, neither side, through eagerness, observed any order, or discipline : But, as if guided by fortune, whole lines, companies, or single men engaged, and the horse, and foot fought promiscuously : And, as the two cities were not far asunder, succours arrived from both : Who, by encouraging the forces, that suffered, made them sustain the fatigues of the engagement for a long time. After that, a body of horse coming to the assistance of the Romans, they, again, overcame the Sabines ; and, having killed many of them, returned to the city with a great number of prisoners. Then, discovering the Sabines, who had come to Rome under the pretence of seeing the entertainments, and designed to have possessed themselves of the strong places of the city, in order to favor the attempt of their countrymen, as it had been concerted between them, they threw them into prison : And, having voted that the sacrifices, which had been interrupted by the war, should be performed with double magnificence, they, again, passed their time in exultation.

XXXII. While they were celebrating these festivals, embassadors came to them from the ²¹ Aurunci, who inhabited the finest plains of Campania: These, being introduced into the senate, desired the Romans would restore the country to the Volsci, called Echetrani, which they had taken from them, and divided among those of their own people, whom they had sent thither as a colony, to secure the possession of that country; and that they would withdraw the guard: Which if they refused to do, the embassadors said the Aurunci would, soon, invade the territories of the Romans, and take revenge for the injuries they had done to their neighbours. To these the Romans gave this answer: “ Embassadors, let
 “ the Aurunci know we Romans think it just that, what-
 “ ever any one has acquired from an enemy by his valor,
 “ he should leave it to his posterity, as his own: That we
 “ are not afraid of a war from the Aurunci, which will
 “ be neither the first, nor the most formidable we have been
 “ engaged in; it being customary for us to fight with all
 “ men for command, and glory: And, when we see the
 “ war come to an action, we shall receive it with intrepidity.” After this, the Aurunci, who were come out of their own territories with a great army, and the Romans, with their national forces under the command of Servilius, met near the city of ²² Aricia, which is distant one hundred and twenty stadia from Rome. And each of them incamped on hills,

²¹ Αἰγυῖων. These were the *Aurunci*, a people of Campania, whose principal city was *Suessa Aurunca*, now

called, ^m *Seffa*.

²² Πόλεως Ἀρικείας. See the thirtieth annotation on the fifth book.

^m Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iv. c. 5.

strongly,

strongly, situated, not far from one another. After they had fortified their camps, they advanced to the plain, in order to a battle: And, engaging early in the morning, they maintained the fight till noon: So that, many were killed on both sides: For the Aurunci were a warlike nation; and, by their stature, their strength, and the fierceness of their looks, in which great savageness appeared, they were exceeding formidable.

XXXIII. In this battle, the Roman horse, and their commander, Aulus Postumius Albus, who had been dictator the year before, are said to have behaved themselves with the greatest bravery: For the place, where the battle was fought, was not, at all, proper for the horse, being full of rocky hills, and deep valleys; so that, the horse could be of no advantage to either side. Upon which occasion, Postumius, having ordered the horse to dismount, and formed a body of six hundred men, observing where the Roman foot suffered most, being forced down a hill, there he charged the enemy, and, presently, stopped their pursuit. The Barbarians being, once, repulsed, the Romans grew bold, and the foot emulated the horse: And both forming one compact body, they drove the right wing of the enemy to the hill: Some pursued that part of them, which fled towards their camp, and killed many: While others attacked in the rear those, who, still, maintained the fight. When, having forced these, also, to fly, they followed them in their difficult, and slow retreat up the steep places, cutting asunder the sinews both of their legs, and hams with side blows of their swords,

till they came to their camp; and, having forced the guards of this also, who were not numerous, they made themselves masters of their camp, and plundered it. However, they found no great booty there, but only arms, horses, and other things proper for the war. These were the actions of Servilius, and Appius, during their consulship.

XXXIV. They were succeeded by ²³ Aulus Virginius Coelimontanus, and Titus Veturius Geminus, ²⁴ Themistocles

²³ Αὐλὸς Οὐερίνιος Κοιλιμοντάνος. Sionius has, certainly, great reason to read this consul's name Coelimontanus, instead of Montanus, as it stands in the editions, and manuscripts; because we find he is called so in the *Fasti consulares*.

²⁴ Ἀρχὼν Ἀθηνησὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς. I find M. * * * is of opinion that this Athenian archon cannot be the great Themistocles: The reason he gives for it, is, that he was too young to be archon at this time, that is, in the fourth year of the seventy first Olympiad. I am of a different opinion: For which I shall give my reasons; and then leave it to the reader to determine between us. In the first place, among all the Athenian archons, we find no other Themistocles, till the second year of the one hundred and eighth Olympiad; and it is not probable that Themistocles, who saved Athens, and all Greece from being enslaved by the Persians, should never have been chosen archon by his country. In the next place, I shall consider the reason, given by that gentleman in support of

his opinion; and shew that Themistocles was far from being too young to be chosen archon at this time. ⁿ Plutarch tells us that he was sixty five years of age, when he died. Now, it appears by ^o Cicero, and by ^p Eusebius, that Themistocles died in the third year of the seventy eighth Olympiad: From the fourth year of the seventy first Olympiad, to the third of the seventy eighth, are just twenty six years: So that, Themistocles must have been about thirty nine years of age in the fourth year of the seventy first Olympiad; and, consequently, he was not too young to have been archon that year. Besides, there is great reason to believe that Themistocles had been archon long before he distinguished himself so much when the Persians invaded Greece, which was in the first year of the seventy fifth Olympiad, Calliades being then archon at Athens, as we find both in ^q Herodotus, and in ^r our author; because ^s Thucydides, in speaking of the port of Piræus, which was finished by the advice of Themistocles, after the re-

ⁿ Life of Themist.

^o In Laelio, c. 12.

^p In Chronic. MDL. ^q In Urania. c. 51.

^r B. ix. c. 1. ^s B. i. c. 93.

being

being archon at Athens, the two hundred and sixtieth year after the foundation of Rome, and the year before the seventy second Olympiad, in which ²⁵ Tifocrates of Croton won the prize for the second time. In their consulship, the Sabines prepared to invade the Romans with a greater army than before; and the ²⁶ Medullini, revolting from the latter, entered into a treaty of confederacy with the Sabines, confirmed by their oaths. The patricians, having intelligence of their designs, were preparing to take the field, immediately, with all their forces: But the plebeians refused to obey their orders, remembering, with resentment, the breach of promise they had, often, been guilty of in relation to those poor, who wanted relief; and that the votes of the senate passed in their favor, were, always, defeated by contrary votes. And, assembling together by degrees, they bound one another by oath, no longer, to assist the patricians in any war; and that they would support all the poor in general, and every one of them in particular, against any person, who should offer violence to them. This conspiracy appeared upon many occasions, both in contests, and skirmishes; but the consuls

treat of the Persians, says that it had been begun before, during his annual magistracy; ὑπερχίλο δ' αὖτις πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνης ἀρχῆς, ἧς καὶ ἐνιαύσιον Ἀθηναίοις ἤρξε. This, in my opinion, plainly relates to the time, when he was archon; and, among the Athenian archons, no person of that name is to be found near that time, as I have said, but the archon of the fourth year

of the seventy first Olympiad.

²⁵ Τισικράτης Κροτωνιάτης. So this name must be read; and not Στησικράτης with the Vatican, nor Πισικράτης with the Venetian manuscript; because we find this man won the prize of the stadium at the preceding Olympiad.

²⁶ Μεδυλλίνοι. See the seventieth annotation on the second book.

had the greatest proof of it : For, when they ordered any of the people to be seized for not entering into the service, when summoned, the poor assembled in a body, and endeavoured to rescue the person, as he was carrying to prison ; and, when the officers of the consuls refused to release him, they beat them, and drove them away ; and, if any either of the knights, or patricians, who were present, attempted to put a stop to these proceedings, they forbore not to strike them : Thus, in a short time, the city was full of disorder, and tumult. As the sedition increased in the city, the preparations of the enemy increased also. And the Volsci, and the Aequi forming a design to revolt, ambassadors came from all the people, who were subjects of the Romans, to desire that, as their territories lay in the passage of the war, they would send them succours : For the Latines complained that the Aequi had made an incursion into their country, and, were then, laying waste their lands, and had, already, plundered some of their cities. And the garrison in Crustumera shewed that the Sabines were advanced near that fortress, and ready to besiege it. Others gave an account of other mischiefs, which either had happened, or were like to happen, and desired immediate assistance. Ambassadors from the Volsci, also, came to the senate to demand before they began the war, that the lands, taken from them by the Romans, might be restored.

XXXV. The senate being assembled to consider of these things, Titus Lartius, esteemed a man of superior dignity, and consummate prudence, was first called upon to deliver

deliver his opinion ; when, rising up, he said : “ To me,
 “ fathers, the things, which, to others seem terrible, and to
 “ stand in need of a speedy relief, do appear neither terrible,
 “ nor very urging, that is, in what manner we are to assist
 “ our allies, and repulse our enemies : But those things,
 “ which they look upon neither as the greatest of evils, nor
 “ necessary to be considered at present, but neglect them as
 “ not likely, in any degree, to hurt us, appear most terrible
 “ to me ; and, if we do not, soon, put a stop to them, they
 “ will cause a total subversion, and confusion of the com-
 “ monwealth : These are, the disobedience of the plebeians
 “ to the orders of the consuls, and our own severity against
 “ that disobedience, and the liberty they take. I am of
 “ opinion, therefore, that you ought to consider nothing else
 “ at present, than, by what means, you may eradicate these
 “ evils out of the commonwealth, and, all, with one consent,
 “ prefer public to private considerations, in every measure
 “ we pursue : For the power of the commonwealth, when
 “ unanimous, is sufficient to give both security to our allies,
 “ and fear to our enemies : But, when divided, as at present,
 “ it can effect neither. And I should wonder, if it did not,
 “ even, destroy itself, and yield the victory to the enemy
 “ without any trouble : Which, by Jupiter, and all the
 “ other gods, will, soon, happen, if we continue to pursue
 “ the same principles of government.

XXXVI. “ For we are divided, as you see, from one
 “ another, and inhabit two cities ; one of which is governed
 “ by poverty, and necessity, and the other by satiety, and
 “ pride ;

“ pride ; while modesty, order, and justice, by which alone
“ every civil community can be preserved, is to be found in
“ neither : For which reason, we exact justice from one
“ another by violence, and make superior strength the
“ measure of that justice ; chusing rather, like wild beasts,
“ to destroy our enemy, though we perish with him, than,
“ by consulting our own safety, to be preserved together
“ with our adversary. These things I desire you will, seri-
“ ously, consider, and deliberate, particularly, concerning
“ them, as soon as you have dismissed the embassadors.
“ As to the answers, to be, now, given to them, This is what
“ I have to advise : Since the Volsci demand restitution of
“ what we are in possession of by the right of conquest, and
“ threaten us with a war, if we refuse to restore it, let our
“ answer be, that we Romans look upon those acquisitions
“ to be the most honest, and the most just, which we have
“ acquired by the laws of war ; and will not endure to ob-
“ literate valor with folly, in restoring them to those, who
“ could not keep them : And that we will endeavour, by
“ force of arms, both to secure the possession of them to our-
“ selves, and to leave it to our posterity : Whereas, if we did
“ otherwise, we should treat ourselves with the severity of
“ an enemy. As to the Latines, we ought to commend their
“ affections, and dispel their fears, by assuring them that we
“ will not abandon them in any danger they shall expose
“ themselves to upon our account, while they continue
“ faithful to us ; but will, shortly, send a force sufficient to
“ defend them. These answers, I judge, will be the best,
“ and

“ and the most agreeable to justice. After the ambassadors
 “ are dismissed, I think, we ought to dedicate the first
 “ meeting of the senate to the consideration of the tumults
 “ in the city, and that this meeting ought not to be deferred,
 “ but appointed for to-morrow.”

XXXVII. Lartius having delivered this opinion, and every one applauding it, the ambassadors received the answers he had advised, and departed. The next day, the consuls assembled the senate, and proposed to them to take into consideration the means of appeasing the civil dissensions: When Publius Virginius, a popular man, being first asked his opinion, took a middle way, and said; “ Since the
 “ people, last year, shewed the greatest earnestness to serve
 “ the commonwealth, and, in conjunction with us, engaged
 “ the Volsci, and Aurunci, when they invaded us with great
 “ armies, I think that all, who, then, assisted us, and took
 “ their share in those wars, ought to be discharged of their
 “ debts; and that neither their persons, nor fortunes ought to
 “ be subject to their creditors: That the same immunity ought
 “ to extend to their parents, as far as their grandfathers;
 “ and to their posterity, as far as their grandchildren: And
 “ that all the rest ought to be liable to imprisonment at the
 “ suit of their creditors upon the terms of their respective
 “ obligations.” After him, Titus Lartius said; “ My opinion,
 “ fathers, is, that, not only, those, who fought, bravely,
 “ in the wars, but all the rest of the people, also, be discharged
 “ of their debts: For this is the only means of restoring
 “ harmony to the whole city.”

XXXVIII. The third person, who spoke, was Appius Claudius, the consul of the former year, who rose up, and said; “ As often as these matters have been debated, fathers, “ I was, always, of the same opinion, that is, never to yield “ to the people in any thing, that is not founded on law, “ and justice; nor to debase the dignity of the common- “ wealth: Neither do I, even now, change the opinion, “ which I, first, entertained: For I should be the weakest of “ all men, if, last year, when I was consul, and my colleague “ opposed me, and inflamed the people against me, I resisted, “ and adhered to my resolutions, unshaken by fear, and “ unmoved by intreaties, or favor; and, now, when I am “ a private man, I should demit myself, and betray that “ liberty I contended for. I know not whether you will “ call this liberty of my mind, generosity, or pride; but, as “ long as I live, I will never depart from the honest reso- “ lution I have, long since, taken, never to introduce an “ abolition of debts, myself, in favor of wicked men; but, “ even, to oppose, with all my power, those, who endeavour “ to introduce it; convinced as I am that an abolition of “ debts is the source of all vice, and corruption; and, in a “ word, of the total subversion of every commonwealth. “ And, whether any one shall think that what I say proceeds “ from prudence, or madness (since I consider not my own “ security, but That of the commonwealth) or from any “ other motive, I give him free leave to think as he pleases: “ But I will, ever, oppose those, who shall introduce inno- “ vations. And, since the times, instead of an abolition of “ debts,

“ debts, require a great relief, I will acquaint you with the
 “ only remedy for the present sedition, which is, imme-
 “ diately, to create a dictator; who, subject to no account
 “ for the use he shall make of his authority, will force both
 “ the senate, and the people to entertain such sentiments, as
 “ are most advantageous to the commonwealth: For no
 “ other can be applied to so great an evil.”

XXXIX. This speech, and motion of Appius was received by the young senators with a tumultuous applause, when Servilius, and some others of the ancient senators rose up to oppose it: But they were overcome by the young men, who came thither for that purpose, and used great violence; and, at last, the motion of Appius carried it. After this, the consuls, acting in concert, when most people expected that Appius would be declared dictator, as the only person capable of governing with the vigor requisite upon that occasion, they excluded him, and created ²⁷ Manius Valerius,

²⁷ Μανιον Ουαλεριον. Sigonius has shewn, in a note upon Livy, that we must read Manius, and not Marcus. His brother Marcus was slain in the battle, that was fought near the lake Regillus, as ^v our author has, already, told us. The consuls shewed more moderation, upon this occasion, than the senate, and, probably, saved their country by it: For no body can say what might have been the consequence if the latter had conferred the dictatorship on a man of so imperious a temper as Appius, whom the people looked upon as their capital enemy, and the author of the breach of promise, which

the senate had been guilty of: But ^w Livy will explain the reason, that induced the senate to prefer the violent advice of Appius to the moderate advice of Virginiius: *Medium maxime, et moderatum utroque consilium Virginii habebatur.* Sed, factione, respectuque rerum privatarum, quae semper offecere, officientque publicis consiliis, Appius vicit: ac prope fuit ut dictator ille idem crearetur. quae res utique alienasset plebem periculofissimo tempore, quum Volsci, Aequique, et Sabini forte una omnes in armis essent. Sed curae fuit consulibus et senioribus patrum, ut imperium, suo vehementius, mansueto permetteretur ingenio.

^v C. 12.

^w B. ii. c. 30.

a brother of Publius the first consul, dictator ; a person in years, and like to approve himself a most popular man : For they looked upon the terror alone of this magistracy to be sufficient ; and that the present situation of affairs required a person mild in all respects, that he might occasion no fresh disturbances.

XL. After Valerius was invested with this magistracy, he appointed Quintus Servilius, brother to Servilius, who had been the colleague of Appius, to be his general of the horse, and summoned the people to an assembly. And great numbers assisting for the first time since Servilius had resigned his magistracy, and the people, by being forced into the service, had been driven to open despair, he ascended the tribunal, and said ; “ Citizens, we are very sensible that you take a pleasure
“ in being, always, governed by some of the Valerian fa-
“ mily ; by whom you were freed from a severe tyranny, and
“ never failed of obtaining any thing, that was reasonable,
“ when you placed your confidence in those, who are looked
“ upon, and are, the most popular of all men. So that, I
“ need not inform you that we shall secure to you that liberty,
“ which we, at first, bestowed upon you ; but only exhort
“ you, in few words, to be assured that we shall perform
“ whatever we promise you : For I am arrived to that
“ maturity of age, which is the least capable of imposition,
“ and to that sufficiency of dignity, which abhors the least
“ appearance of deceit : Add to this, that I shall pass the
“ remainder of my life among you, accountable to you for
“ any practice you may think I have made use of to insnare
“ you.

“ you. These things I shall omit as requiring not many
 “ words, as I said, because I speak to those, who are ac-
 “ quainted with them. But there is one thing, which,
 “ having suffered from others, you seem, with reason, to
 “ suspect of all; you have, ever, observed that the consuls,
 “ when they want to engage you to march against the
 “ enemy, promise to obtain for you what you desire of the
 “ senate; but never perform any thing they have promised:
 “ That you can have no reason to entertain the same suspi-
 “ cions of me also, I will convince you, chiefly, by these
 “ two considerations; the first, that the senate would never
 “ have abused my person, who am looked upon as the greatest
 “ patron of the people, by imposing this office upon me,
 “ when there are others fitter for it; and the other, that
 “ they would not have honoured me with this sovereign
 “ magistracy, by which I am invested with a power of en-
 “ acting whatever I think best, even without their parti-
 “ cipation.

XLI. “ Imagine not, then, that I am capable of joining
 “ with them to deceive you, or that I have concerted with
 “ them any criminal design against you: For, if you enter-
 “ tain these thoughts of me, as if I was the most deceitful
 “ of all men, treat me as you please; but believe what I
 “ I say, and banish this suspicion from your minds: Turn
 “ your anger from your friends to your enemies, who are
 “ coming with a design to take your city, to transform you,
 “ from free men, to slaves, hastening to inflict every other
 “ severity on you, which mankind stands most in fear of, and
 “ are,

“ are, now, said to be not far from your confines. Receive
 “ them, therefore, with alacrity, and shew them that the
 “ power of the Romans, though agitated with sedition, is
 “ superior to any other, when unanimous ; and be assured
 “ they will either not sustain our united attack, or suffer
 “ condign punishment for their boldness. Consider that
 “ these men, who invade you, are Volsci, and Sabines, whom
 “ you have, often, overcome in battle ; who have neither
 “ larger bodies, nor braver minds now, than those you, be-
 “ fore, conquered, and only despise you, because they think
 “ you divided. When you have taken revenge on your
 “ enemies, I myself undertake that the senate will reward
 “ you, both by composing these contests concerning the
 “ debts, and by granting every thing else you can, reason-
 “ ably, desire of them, in a manner adequate to the valor
 “ you shall shew in the war. And, till then, let all the
 “ possessions, all the persons, and all the ²⁸ families of every

²⁸. Πασα δε συγγενεια. The editions, and manuscripts have πασα δε επιλιμια, which all the translators have endeavoured to make something of, except le Jay, who has left it out. The others have rendered it, *Honor, Reputation*, or something equivalent. This is, certainly, the sense of the word ; but, how will this sense agree with the construction ? Valerius says, according to the text, as it stands, αφειδω πασα επιλιμια αρρυσιασος απο τε δανεικ, etc. that is, *let all the reputations of the Romans be discharged of debts without security*. If επιλιμια be taken in another

sense, which it will also bear, I mean That of a *Fine*, the expression will be, equally, absurd : For it will then signify, *Let their Fines be discharged of debts*. Reduced, therefore, to this alternative, either to write nonsense, or to make an alteration in the text, I have chosen the latter, and substituted συγγενεια to επιλιμια. But, in order to justify this alteration, I shall lay before the reader the declaration made by Servilius not long before, which very much resembles this : * He there says ; τας τριων οικιας μηδενα εξειναι μητε κατεχειν, μητε πωλειν, μητε ενεχυραζειν, μητε

* C. 29.

“ Roman

“ Roman citizen be discharged without security both from
 “ debts, and every other obligation : And to those, who
 “ shall fight bravely, the most glorious crown of victory
 “ will be the preservation of their country, which gave them
 “ birth ; and glorious will be the praise they will receive
 “ from their fellow-foldiers, together with the ornaments
 “ to be bestowed by us, which will be sufficient both to
 “ restore their fortunes by their value, and to illustrate
 “ their families by their honors. I desire, also, that my
 “ alacrity, in exposing myself to danger, may be your ex-
 “ ample : For I will fight for my country with the same
 “ spirit, as the most robust among you.”

XLII. While he was speaking, the people heard him with great pleasure, as fearing no more to be imposed upon ; and promised their assistance in the war : Ten legions were raised, every one of which consisted of four thousand men : Of these each of the consuls took three, and as many of the horse, as belonged to the three legions : The other four, together with the rest of the horse, were commanded by the dictator : And, having got every thing ready, they took the field immediately, Titus Veturius marching against the Aequi, Aulus Virginius against the Volsci, and the dictator himself against the Sabines. The city was guarded by Titus

ΓΕΝΟΣ αὐτῶν ἀπαλεῖν πρὸς μηδὲν συμβό-
 λαιον. By this, it appears that the fa-
 milies of the debtors were liable to be
 carried to prison for the debts of the
 masters of them. This exemption,
 which was a very material one, will
 be omitted in the declaration of Vale-

rius, if we read ἐπιμία, besides the
 inconvenience, already, mentioned :
 Whereas, if we read συγγενεα, this
 immunity will be provided for, and
 that word will have the same signifi-
 cation in the declaration of Valerius
 with γένος αὐτῶν in That of Servilius.

Lartius

Lartius with those of a more advanced age, and a small body of the younger sort. The Volscian war was soon determined : For, looking upon themselves as much superior in number, and forgetting their former defeats, they were forced to fight with greater haste, than prudence ; and first attacked the Romans, which they did, as soon as they had incamped within sight of one another : And a sharp battle ensuing, in which they, having performed many brave actions, and suffered greater losses, were put to flight : Their camp was taken, and a city of note reduced by a siege : The name of which was ²⁹ Velitrae. In the same manner, the pride of the Sabines was, also, humbled in a very short time, the two nations desiring to decide the fate of the war by one battle. After which, their country was laid waste, and some small towns were taken, in which the soldiers found many slaves, and great riches. The Aequi, who suspected their own weakness, being informed of the event of the war with their allies, incamped in their fastnesses, declining an engagement ; and, retreating, as they could, through woods, and over the tops of mountains, they deferred the conclusion of the war for some time : But were not able to preserve their army unhurt to the last, the Romans, boldly, falling upon them, though defended by steep places, and taking their camp by storm. After which, they fled out of the territories of the Latines ; and the cities they had taken in their first irruption, were surrendered, and Those, of which they, obstinately, defended the citadels, were taken.

²⁹ Ουελίτραι. See the thirty eighth annotation on the third book.

XLIII. Valerius, having succeeded in this war according to his desire, triumphed, in the usual manner, on account of his victory, and discharged the people from the service, which the senate looked upon as premature, fearing the poor might demand the execution of their promises. After this, he sent a colony to possess the lands they had conquered from the Volsci, chusing out the poorer sort for this purpose, to the intent they might, not only, secure the conquered country, but, also, lessen the number of seditious citizens. Having done this, he desired the senate to perform the promises they had made to him, since they had, now, received the fruits of the alacrity the people had shewn in the late engagements. However, the senate paid no regard to him; but, as before, the young, and violent men, who were superior to the others in number, had formed a faction to oppose that motion, so they, now, opposed it in the same manner, and clamoured, violently, against him, calling his family the flatterers of the people, and the authors of destructive laws. And Valerius, being informed that these men, particularly, complained of the appeal from the courts of justice, given by the Valerian law, as of an institution, by which the power of the patricians was, totally, subverted, he, greatly, lamented his misfortune; and, reproaching them with having ³⁰ exposed him to the unjust resentment of the

30. Διαβεβλημενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον. The translators have understood this as if the enemies of Valerius had accused him to the people: But this is not the sense; the people would not

have encouraged such an accusation. Valerius complains that the senate, by violating the promise they had made to him, and he, by their direction, to the people, had exposed him to their re-

people, he bewailed the unfortunate events, with which their resolutions would be attended ; and, as it, often, happens in such distress, having foretold some things from the emotion he was then under, and others from his superior sagacity, he went out of the senate ; and, assembling the people, he said ; “ Citizens, finding myself under great
 “ obligations to you for the alacrity you have expressed
 “ in giving your voluntary assistance in the war at my
 “ desire, and still more for the bravery you have shewn
 “ in the several engagements, I was very desirous of making
 “ a return to you in all things, particularly in not disappointing the hopes I gave you, in the name of the senate ;
 “ and, as an adviser, and umpire between the senate, and
 “ you, in changing, at last, the division, that, now, subsists
 “ between you, into a perfect harmony. I am hindered
 “ from effecting these things by those, whose sentiments are
 “ not the most advantageous to the commonwealth ; who
 “ prefer, upon this occasion, the gratification of their own
 “ desires to its interest ; and who, being superior to the
 “ others both in number, and the power they derive
 “ from their youth, rather than from their cause, have
 “ prevailed : While I myself, as you see, am old, and so
 “ are all my assistants, whose strength consists in counsel,
 “ which they are incapable of supporting by action ; ³¹ and

sentment, which, with great reason, he calls unjust, since it ought to have been directed against the senate, and not against him ; as it, really, happened afterwards.

³¹ Καὶ περιεσχηκεν, etc. H. Stephens has observed that our author has imitated Thucydides upon this occasion. The passage he has imitated is in the speech of the Corcyraeans to the Athe-

“ our

“ our known zeal for the commonwealth, in general, has
 “ ended in drawing upon us the private resentment of both
 “ parties: For I am censured by the senate for courting you,
 “ and by you for shewing greater affection to them.

XLIV. “ If, therefore, the people, after they had received
 “ the favors they asked, had violated the promises made by
 “ me to the senate in their name, my apology would have
 “ been, that you were the deceivers, but that I myself was
 “ guilty of no deceit. Now, since the promises, made to
 “ you by the senate, have not been performed, I am under
 “ a necessity of making it appear to the people, that I am
 “ so far from having any hand in the treatment you have
 “ met with, that both you, and I are, equally, imposed
 “ upon, and circumvented; and I so much more than you,
 “ as I am, not only, injured in being deceived in common
 “ with you all, but am, also, hurt in my own reputation,
 “ in being accused of having given leave to the poorer sort
 “ to convert the spoils taken from the enemy to their private
 “ advantage, without the consent of the senate; which is
 “ interpreted to be taking upon myself to divide, as I think
 “ fit, the property of the citizens; and of having discharged

nians, where they say; ^γ και περιεσηκεν
 η δοκσα ημων πρῶτον σωφροσυνη, το μη
 εν αλλοτρηια ξυμμαχια τη τε πελας γνωμη
 ξυκινδυνευειν, νυν αβελια και αοθενεια
 φαινομενη. Sylburgius advises to change
 φερομενη, in our author, to φαινομενη,
 because it is so in Thucydides. But
 this I look upon to have been the
 very reason, that induced Dionysius to

make use of another word of the same
 import. I am very far from being
 fond of my translation of this passage;
 but I hope the reader will be better
 pleased with my attempt to translate
 it, than if, in imitation of my brother
 translators, I had given him a para-
 phrase of it.

^γ B. i. c. 32.

K 2

“ you

“ you from the service, contrary to law, and to ³² their de-
 “ fire, when I ought to have kept you in the enemy’s coun-
 “ try, and employed you in ineffectual incampments, and
 “ marches. I am, also, reproached with having sent a colony
 “ into the territories of the Volsci, and with having granted
 “ a large, and fertile country, not to the patricians, and the
 “ knights, but to those among you, who wanted relief.
 “ But the thing, which has excited the greatest indignation
 “ against me, is, that, in raising the army, more than four
 “ hundred plebeians of good fortunes have been added to the
 “ knights. If, therefore, I had been, thus, treated, when I
 “ was in the vigor of my youth, I should have shewn them
 “ what kind of a man they had abused: But, as I am,
 “ now, above seventy years old, and incapable of doing
 “ myself justice, and find that your divisions can be, no
 “ longer, healed by me, I resign my power, and submit my
 “ person to be treated by those, who may think I have de-
 “ ceived them, in such a manner, as they shall think fit.”

XLV. This speech raised a general compassion in the
 people, who accompanied Valerius, when he left the forum;
 but increased the resentment of the senate against him.
 Immediately, the following events happened: The poorer
 sort, no longer privately, and in the night as before, but,
 openly now, assembling, consulted together concerning a
 secession from the patricians: To prevent which, the senate
 ordered the consuls not to disband the armies as yet: For

³² Ης γε κωλυσις. I am, intirely, of Casaubon’s opinion, who thinks the
 text corrupted in this place.

these had, still, a power over the legions, who were under the obligation of their military oaths, and, for that reason, deemed holy, and none of the foldiers ventured to desert their ensigns: So far did the fear of violating their oaths prevail with all of them. The pretence, contrived for leading out the forces, was, that the Aequi, and Sabines, had entered into an union with a design to make war upon the Romans. After the consuls had marched out of the city with the armies, and incamped near to one another, the foldiers of both camps assembled together; and, having seized both the arms, and the ensigns, they carried away the latter, at the instigation of Sicinnius Bellutus, and seceded from the consuls (for these ensigns are held in the greatest honor by the Romans in time of war, and, like statues of the gods, are accounted holy) and, having appointed other officers, and Sicinnius their commander in chief, they possessed themselves of a ³³ certain mountain, near the river Anio, not far from Rome, which, from thence, is, still, called the holy mountain. And, when the consuls, and the rest of the officers persuaded them to return with prayers, tears, and many promises, Sicinnius answered; “ To
 “ what purpose, patricians, do you, now, recal those, whom
 “ you have driven from their country, and transformed
 “ from free men to slaves? What assurances will you give

³³ Ορος τι καλαμαθανοίαι. This *Sacrum Montem secessisse trans Anienem* mountain was three Roman miles *Annem, tria ab urbe millia passuum.* from Rome, on the other side of the On this hill, there, now, stands a Anio, as we learn from ² Livy: *In* castle, called, ^a *Castello di S. Silvestro.*

² B. ii. c. 32.

^a Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. ii. c. 9.

“ us for the performance of those promises, which, it is
“ plain, you have, already, so often violated? But, since
“ you desire to have the sole possession of the city, return
“ thither undisturbed by the poor and the obscure: We
“ shall be content to live in any part of the world, in which
“ we may enjoy our liberty; and, wherever it may be, we
“ shall look upon that place, as our country.”

XLVI. When those in the city were informed of these things, there was a great tumult, and lamentation, and a concourse in every street; the people preparing to leave the city, and the patricians endeavouring to dissuade them, and offering violence to those, who refused to obey. And a great clamor, wailing, and hostile words were heard at the gates, and hostile actions committed, while none distinguished either age, friendship, or the dignity due to virtue. When the guards, appointed by the senate to prevent the people from going out of the city, being few in number, were unable, any longer, to resist them, and forced from their post, the people rushed out in great multitudes, and the face of things appeared like a city taken by storm; and the lamentations of such, as were left behind, and the mutual accusations were heard of those, who saw the city upon the point of being deserted. After this, there were frequent consultations in the senate, where the persons, who had given occasion to the secession, were, severely, censured. At the same time, their enemies, also, invaded them, laying waste their territories to the gates of Rome. However, the seceders, taking the necessary provisions from the country, that lay
near

near them, without doing any other mischief to it, remained in the field, and received such, as resorted to them from the city, and the nearest fortresses, who were, already, come to them in great numbers : For, not only, those, who were desirous to fly from their debts, judgements, and other severities they expected, flocked to them, but many others also, who led lazy, or dissolute lives, or whose fortunes were not sufficient to gratify their passions ; or men of bad principles, or envious of the prosperity of others ; or, through any calamity, or other cause, enemies to the present establishment.

XLVII. The patricians, at first, were full of disorder, and astonishment, fearing lest the seceders should join with their foreign enemies, and, presently, besiege the city. After that, they took arms at once, as if the signal had been given ; and, being attended with their clients, some posted themselves in the roads, by which they expected the enemy would approach ; others marched to the fortresses in order to secure them ; and others incamped in the fields before the city : And those, who, by reason of their age, were unable to do any thing of this kind, placed themselves upon the walls. But, when they heard that the seceders did neither join the enemy, lay waste the country, nor do any other mischief worth speaking of, they were freed from their fears ; and, changing their resolutions, considered, upon what terms, they should come to an agreement with them : And speeches of every kind, directly opposite to one another, were made by the leading men of the senate ;
but

but the most moderate, and the best adapted to the present juncture, were Those of the oldest senators, who shewed that the people had not made this secession from them with any malicious design, but, partly, compelled by irresistible calamities, and, partly, deluded by their advisers, and judging of their interest by passion rather than reason; a misfortune ignorance is liable to: And that the greatest part of them were conscious to themselves of having taken wrong measures, and seeking an opportunity of redeeming their offences with decency. As a proof of which, they, already, acted like men repenting; and, if encouraged with favourable hopes by a vote of the senate for their impunity, and by proposals for an honourable accommodation, they would, chearfully, return home. The senators, who advised this, desired that men of the greatest worth would not be more implacable than Those of inferior merit, nor defer an accommodation till mad men should be either taught wisdom by necessity, or induced by it to cure a smaller evil by a greater, in depriving themselves of liberty, by delivering up their arms, and surrendering their persons at discretion: For these things were next to impossible. They ought, therefore, to treat the people with moderation; to set the example of salutary counsels, and to be the first to propose an accommodation; when they considered that, as patricians, their duty was to govern, and take care of the commonwealth, and, as good men, to promote friendship, and peace: That the dignity of the senate would not suffer any diminution by, generously, supporting unavoidable calamities in
order

order to secure the government; but by preserving an unreasonable resentment under their misfortunes, which tended to subvert it: And that it was folly to aim at decency, and neglect security: That both, indeed, were to be wished; but, if one of them must be given up, security was a more necessary thing, than decency. They ended their advice with desiring that, as the seceders had, hitherto, been guilty of no irreparable offence, ambassadors might be sent to them to treat of an accommodation.

XLVIII. This was approved of by the senate: After which, they chose the most proper persons, and sent them to the people in the camp, with orders to inquire of them what they desired; and, upon what terms, they thought fit to return to the city: For, if their demands were moderate, and possible to be complied with, the senate would not oppose them. If, therefore, they, now, laid down their arms, and returned to the city, they should be intitled to an impunity for their offences, and, from henceforward, to an amnesty. And, if, they shall, hereafter, entertain the best affections for the commonwealth, and, chearfully, expose themselves for the service of their country, they shall receive honourable, and advantageous returns. The ambassadors, having received these instructions, communicated them to the people in the camp, and spoke in conformity to them. But the seceders, rejecting these invitations, reproached the patricians with haughtiness, severity, and ³⁴ great dissimulation in pretending to be ignorant of the demands of the

³⁴ Εἰσρωπειαν. See the forty sixth annotation on the fourth book.

people, and of the necessity, which had compelled them to secede : That they grant them an impunity for their secession, as if they were, still, masters, when they themselves stand in need of the assistance of their fellow-citizens against their foreign enemies, who will, soon, invade them with all their forces ; which they will not be in a condition, even, to face, though, now, they look upon their preservation to be not so much the advantage of themselves, as the good fortune of those, who shall assist them. They ended their answer with telling them that, when they should be better acquainted with the difficulties which the commonwealth laboured under, they would know what kind of adversaries they had to deal with ; and added many violent threats : To all which the embassadors making no answer, departed, and informed the patricians of the disposition, in which they had found the seceders. When those in the city were informed of these answers, their confusions, and fears encreased ; and the senate, unable either to extricate themselves out of these difficulties, or to delay their operation, and being tired with the abuses, and accusations, which the leading men threw out against one another for many days together, was dismissed. Neither were the plebeians, who had been induced by their affection to the patricians, or their fondness for their country, to stay in the city, in the same disposition as before ; but great part, even, of these, both openly, and privately, stole away, and there seemed to be no dependance upon those, who were left. In this situation of affairs, the consuls (for the remaining time of their magistracy was not long) appointed a day for the election of magistrates.

XLIX. When the time came, in which the assembly was to be held in the field, in order to their election, no person either offering himself for the consulship, or venturing to accept it, if conferred upon him, the people themselves created two consuls, who had, before, been invested with that magistracy, and who were acceptable both to the people, and to the aristocracy: These were Postumus Cominius, and Spurius Cassius, under whom the Sabines, subdued by their arms, had resigned the sovereignty: They were re-chosen in the ³⁵ seventy second Olympiad, in which Tifocrates of Croton won the prize of the stadium, Diognetus being then archon at Athens. These, having entered upon their magistracy on the calends of September, sooner than had been customary for the former consuls, the first thing they did, was to assemble the senate, in order to take their opinion concerning the return of the plebeians: The first senator they called upon to deliver his sentiments, was Agrippa Menenius, a man, then, in the maturity of his age, and looked upon as a person of superior wisdom: He was, particularly, commended for his principles of government, and for taking a middle course; being inclined neither to encrease the pride of the aristocratical party, nor to suffer the licentiousness of the people. This person advised the senate to an accommodation by the following speech: “Fathers, if all, who are
 “ present, were of the same opinion; if no man would oppose
 “ an accommodation with the people; and that the terms

³⁵ *Επι της Ολυμπιαδος δευτερας.* So and Sylburgius; and not *εβδομης*, as it stands in the editions, and manuscripts.

“ of it, whether they are just, or unjust, were only to be
“ considered, I should deliver my sentiments in few words:
“ But, since some look even upon this, as a matter of
“ consultation, whether we ought to agree with the seceders,
“ or go to war with them, I do not think it easy for me to
“ support the advice I shall give you, by a short discussion:
“ On the contrary, it is necessary for me to extend my
“ discourse to a greater length, in order to convince those
“ among you, who oppose an accommodation, that they
“ contradict themselves, when they go about to frighten us
“ with those evils, that are most inconsiderable, and easily
“ reformed; and, at the same time, carelessly enough neglect
“ the greatest, and Those, that are incurable. This contra-
“ diction they fall into for no other reason, than because
“ they do not judge of what is expedient by reason, but by
“ passion, and fury: For how can these men be said to
“ foresee what is expedient, or possible, who imagine that
“ so powerful a commonwealth, mistress of so extensive an
“ administration, already envied by, and grievous to, her
“ neighbours, will be able either easily to restrain, and pro-
“ tect the nations in subjection to her without the plebeians,
“ or to bring another less wicked people into the city, in the
“ room of this, who shall fight for their sovereignty, and
“ live with them under the same government; in profound
“ quiet, behaving themselves with modesty both in peace,
“ and war? For they can alledge nothing else in support of
“ their opinion, when they desire us not to receive an ac-
“ commodation.

L. “ How

L. “ How weak either of those two expedients is, I desire
 “ you will consider from the facts themselves, and reflect that,
 “ when the lower sort among the people grew disaffected to
 “ you by reason of those, who treated their misfortunes,
 “ neither like fellow-citizens, nor like moderate men, and,
 “ afterwards, withdrew, indeed, from the city, but neither
 “ do, nor have any thought of doing you, any other mischief,
 “ and consider only, by what means, they may be re-
 “ conciled to you without dishonor, many of those, who
 “ are not well disposed to you, joyfully, seized this incident
 “ presented to them by Fortune; and, exulting in their
 “ thoughts, looked upon this, as the juncture they had long
 “ wished for to deprive you of the sovereignty. For the
 “ Aequi, the Volsci, the Sabines, and the Hernici, who have,
 “ never, ceased to make war against us, are, now, exaspe-
 “ rated at their late defeats, and, already, divide among
 “ themselves the territories we are possessed of. As to the
 “ people of Campania, and Tyrrhenia, whom we left waver-
 “ ing in their affections towards us, some of them, openly,
 “ revolt from us, and others are, privately, preparing to do
 “ the same. The Latines, also, our relations, seem, no longer,
 “ to retain for us that friendship they had assured us of, but
 “ many, even, of these are said to labor under the general
 “ distemper, a fondness for a change. While we, who used
 “ to besiege the cities of others, are now shut up in our own,
 “ leaving our lands uncultivated, and seeing our country
 “ houses plundered, our cattle driven away, and our slaves
 “ deserting, without knowing what resolutions to take under
 “ these

“ these misfortunes. And these things we suffer still expect-
“ ing the people should sue to us for an accommodation,
“ when we know it is in our own power to put an end to
“ the sedition by a single vote.

LI. “ While our affairs are in this unhappy posture
“ abroad, Those in the city are in no less terrible a condition.
“ For we have not provided ourselves with allies before-
“ hand, as if we expected to be besieged, neither are our
“ numbers sufficient to resist so many nations of enemies :
“ The greatest part of our small, and weak army consists of
“ plebeians, of our own servants, and clients, and of artificers ;
“ feeble supports of a shaken aristocracy. And the continual
“ desertions of these to the seceders have rendered all the
“ rest liable to suspicion. But, above all these things, the
“ impossibility of bringing in provisions, while the country
“ is in the power of the enemy, threatens us with a famine ;
“ and, when we are once in want, will threaten us still more.
“ But, besides this war, which gives us no rest, it surpasses
“ every thing, that is dreadful, to see the wives, the infant
“ children, and aged parents of the seceders running about
“ the forum, and through every street, their habits mournful,
“ and their looks distressed, with tears in their eyes, suppli-
“ cating, embracing the hands, and knees of every one, and
“ bewailing the forlorn condition they are reduced to, and still
“ more, That, which threatens them ; a cruel, and intolerable
“ fight ! None, sure, are so inhuman, as not to be moved,
“ when they see these things, nor to compassionate the mis-
“ fortunes of their fellow-creatures. So that, if we are to place
“ no

“ no confidence in the plebeians, we must send away all these
 “ also, some of them being of no use in a siege, and others,
 “ not to be relied on. And, when these too are sent away,
 “ what forces will be left to defend the city? And what as-
 “ sistance can we depend upon to dare to encounter these ter-
 “ rors? For the natural refuge, and the only hope to be con-
 “ fided in, the patrician youth, is inconsiderable, as you see,
 “ and not worth our glorying in. What! are those, who advise
 “ us to sustain a siege, triflers, and do they impose upon us,
 “ or do they not rather, openly, advise us to deliver up the city
 “ at once to our enemies without blood, and without trouble?

LII. “ But I myself, perhaps, magnify these apprehensions,
 “ and would have you fear things, that are not formidable :
 “ The commonwealth may be threatened with no other dan-
 “ ger, than a change of inhabitants, a thing of no great con-
 “ sequence: And we may, with great ease, bring hither a num-
 “ ber of servants, and clients from every nation, and every
 “ place. For this is what many of the opposers of the plebeians
 “ throw out, and these are, certainly, not the least consider-
 “ able among us : Some being arrived to that pitch of folly,
 “ as to deliver impossible wishes, instead of salutary opinions.
 “ These I would, willingly, ask what leisure we shall have
 “ to execute this project, when the enemy is so near the
 “ city? What allowance will be made for the delay of future
 “ assistance, when we are in the midst of actual, and present
 “ evils? And what man, or what god will grant us, quietly,
 “ to raise succours from all parts, and, safely, conduct them
 “ hither? Besides, who are the people, who will leave their
 “ own

“ own countries, and remove to us? Are they such, as have
“ habitations, families, fortunes, and are respected by their
“ fellow-citizens for the lustre of their ancestors, or the
“ reputation of their own virtue? And who would submit
“ to leave the enjoyment of his own happiness, in order to
“ share, with indignity, the misfortunes of others? For they
“ will not come hither to partake of peace, and luxury, but
“ of dangers, and of war, the event of which is doubtful.
“ Or, shall we bring hither a mean sort of people, who
“ have no habitations, like those driven from hence, who,
“ to avoid their debts, judgements, and other calamities of
“ that nature, are glad to remove to any place Fortune throws
“ in their way? These, though otherwise of a good, and
“ modest disposition, that we may grant them this also, yet,
“ from their being neither born here, bred here, nor ac-
“ quainted with our customs, laws, and education, would
“ be far, nay, in every respect, worse than our own.

LIII. “ The natives have their wives, children, parents,
“ and many other friends among us, as pledges, and a fond-
“ ness, without doubt, for the place, where they have been
“ bred, which is an innate passion, and not to be eradicated :
“ While the others we propose to bring hither, this people
“ without house, or home, if they should live among us, hav-
“ ing none of these pledges here, in defence of what advan-
“ tages should they expose themselves to dangers, unless
“ we were to promise them a part of the lands, and of the
“ city, and dispossess the present owners of both, which are
“ things we refuse to grant to our own citizens, who have,
“ often,

“ often, fought in their defence. And, possibly, they might
 “ not be content even with these grants alone, but would,
 “ also, insist upon an equal share of honors, of magistracies,
 “ and of all other advantages with the patricians. If,
 “ therefore, we do not grant them every one of their de-
 “ mands, they will be our enemies, because they have not
 “ obtained them. And, if we grant their demands, our
 “ country, and our constitution will be destroyed, and de-
 “ stroyed by our own hands. I do not add, here, that we
 “ want well disciplined men at this juncture, not husband-
 “ men, servants, merchants, or artificers, who will be obliged
 “ to learn military discipline, and put it in practice at the
 “ same time: And the practice of every thing is difficult to
 “ those, who are not accustomed to it: And such must,
 “ necessarily, be men collected, and resorting hither, from
 “ every nation. As for soldiers, I neither see any raised by
 “ your allies to assist you, neither, if any, unexpectedly, ap-
 “ peared, should I advise you to admit them, inconsiderately,
 “ within your walls, since we know that many cities have
 “ been inflamed by troops, introduced to defend them.

LIV. “ When you consider these things, and what I
 “ have, before, said, and, also, recollect the motives, which
 “ invite you to an accommodation, that we are not the only,
 “ nor the first, people, among whom poverty has quarrelled
 “ with riches, and obscurity with lustre; but, in all cities,
 “ as I may say, both great, and small, the inferiors are,
 “ generally, enemies to their superiors: In all which cities,
 “ the men in power, when they acted with moderation,

“ saved their countries; but, when with pride, they lost
“ their lives, together with all the other advantages they
“ had struggled for: And, when you remember that every
“ thing, composed of many parts, is, often, affected with a
“ disorder in some one of them: And, besides, that neither
“ the affected part of a human body, ought, always, to be
“ cut off; for, that would be to render the rest deformed,
“ and of short duration; nor the disordered part of a civil
“ society to be driven out; for, by that means, the whole
“ would, in time, assuredly be destroyed by the loss of its
“ particular parts: And consider, also, the power of neces-
“ sity, to which alone the gods submit, quarrel not with
“ your misfortunes, nor suffer yourselves to be filled with
“ pride, and ignorance, as if every thing were to succeed
“ according to your wishes; but relent, and yield, deriving
“ examples of prudence, not from the actions of others,
“ but from your own.

LV. “ For every man, and every community ought to
“ emulate the most illustrious of their own actions, and
“ to endeavour that all the rest may correspond with them.
“ Thus, you yourselves have subdued many of your enemies,
“ by whom you had been injured in the highest degree;
“ but you desired neither to destroy them, nor drive them
“ out of their possessions: On the contrary, you restored
“ their houses, and lands to them, and suffered them to
“ live in the countries, that gave them birth; and have,
“ already, granted the rights both of suffrage, and of Roman
“ citizens to some of them. But I have yet a more wonderful
“ action

“ action of yours to relate ; which is, that you have suffered
 “ offences of a high nature, committed by many, even, of
 “ your own citizens, to go unpunished, while the authors
 “ of them alone felt the weight of your resentment : Of
 “ this number were the colonies sent out to Antemnae,
 “ Crustumerium, Medullia, Fidenae, and to many other
 “ places : For, to what purpose should I, now, enumerate
 “ all those, whom, after you had taken their towns by storm,
 “ you corrected with moderation, and as became fellow-
 “ citizens ? And the commonwealth has been so far from
 “ incurring either danger, or censure by this conduct, that
 “ her clemency is applauded, and her security not at all
 “ diminished. After that, will you, who spare your enemies,
 “ make war upon your friends ? Who suffer the conquered
 “ to go unpunished, punish those, by whose assistance you
 “ have conquered ? Who allow your city to be a safe refuge
 “ for all, who stand in need of it, resolve to drive out of
 “ that city the natives, with whom you have been bred,
 “ and educated, and with whom you have shared many
 “ good, and bad events, both in peace, and in war ? No,
 “ you will not, if you desire to act with justice, and in a
 “ manner agreeable to your former behaviour, and judge of
 “ your interest without passion.

LVI. “ But, some may say, we are not less convinced
 “ than you that the sedition ought to be appeased, and we
 “ have, earnestly, desired it : It is, now, incumbent on you
 “ to shew, by what means we may appease it : For you see
 “ how imperious the people are grown ; who, though they

“ themselves are the offenders, neither send to us to treat of
“ an accommodation, nor return such answers to those we
“ have sent to them, as become men, or fellow-citizens;
“ but assume an excessive haughtiness, and threaten; so
“ that, it is not easy to guess what they aim at. Hear, then,
“ in what manner I advise you to act in this situation: For
“ my own part, I do not look upon the people to be irre-
“ concilable to us, neither do I think they will execute any
“ of their threats: My reason is, that their actions do not
“ agree with their words; and I am of opinion that they
“ are far more earnest than we ourselves are to bring matters
“ to an accommodation: For we live in our own country,
“ which is most dear to us, and have in our own power
“ our fortunes, our houses, our parents, and every thing we
“ most esteem: While they are banished from their city,
“ and from their habitations, are deprived of their nearest
“ relations, and straitened in their daily support. If any
“ one should ask me, for what reason, then, do not the
“ people, even under these miseries, accept our invitations,
“ and why do they themselves not send to treat with us?
“ I should assuredly, answer, because they are amused with
“ fair words by the senate, but see no act of benevolence,
“ or moderation flow from those words, and look upon
“ themselves to have been, often, deceived by us, while we,
“ always, promise to give them some relief, and give them
“ none. They cannot resolve to send deputies to us, from
“ their apprehension of those, who are accustomed to inveigh
“ against them here, and, also, lest their desires should be
“ rejected:

“ rejected: Possibly too, they may be possessed with some
 “ foolish pride; no wonder: Since there are some even
 “ among us, who are influenced by the same litigious, and
 “ and contentious spirit; and, like the vulgar, cannot bear
 “ to be overcome by their adversaries; but, always, seek to
 “ conquer by any means whatever, and never confer a favor,
 “ before they have subdued those, who are to have the
 “ benefit of it. When I consider these things, I think we
 “ ought to send an embassy to the plebeians, consisting of
 “ such persons, as they can most confide in: And that the
 “ persons, so to be sent, be invested with a discretionary
 “ power to put an end to the sedition upon such terms, as
 “ they themselves shall think fit, without any further appli-
 “ cation to the senate: For the people, who, now, seem
 “ haughty, and intractable, will be sensible of this; and,
 “ finding that you promote an accommodation in earnest,
 “ will descend to more moderate conditions, and demand
 “ nothing of us, that is either dishonourable, or impossible:
 “ For all men inflamed with anger, particularly those of a
 “ low condition, when treated imperiously, are enraged; and,
 “ when courted, appeased.”

LVII. When Menenius had done speaking, a general
 murmur ran through the senate, and each party held con-
 sultations together: The patrons of the people exhorting
 one another to exert themselves, in order to bring back the
 plebeians to their country, since they had now, at their head,
 the most considerable man of the aristocratical party: And
 those of this party, who made it a point to suffer no altera-
 altera-

alteration in the established form of government, were at a loss how to behave themselves in the present juncture, being unwilling to change their opinion, and unable to persist in it. While those, who were uningaged in either party, and entered into the contests of neither, desired to see peace restored, and that the senate would consider of the proper means to prevent the city from being besieged. When all were silent, the elder of the consuls celebrated the generosity of Menenius, and recommended to the rest to shew the same zeal for the public, and, not only, to speak their sentiments with freedom, but to execute their resolutions without fear; and called upon another senator by name, in the same manner, to deliver his opinion: This was Manius Valerius, a brother of the person, who had assisted in delivering his country from the kings; a man, of all the aristocratical party, the most acceptable to the people.

LVIII. Who, rising up, first put the senate in mind of the measures he himself had pursued, when a magistrate, and that he had, often, foretold the dangers they would be exposed to, and they, as often, neglected his predictions. He, then, desired that those, who opposed an accommodation, would not, at this time, consider the reasonableness of the terms; but, since they would not suffer the sedition to be appeased, while it was yet in its infancy, now, at least, to consider, by what means a speedy end might be put to it, lest, by making a further progress, it might, insensibly, become perhaps incurable, or, at least, hard to be cured, and produce great evils: He told them that the demands
of

of the plebeians would, no longer, be the same as before ; neither did he think they would agree with them upon the same terms, or be contented with an abolition of their debts ; but that they would, possibly, insist even upon some protection, under which they might, for the future, live securely : For that, since the institution of the dictatorship, the guardian law of their liberty was abolished ; which law allowed no citizen to be put to death by the magistrates without a trial, nor any of the plebeians, who had been condemned by the patricians, when tried, to be delivered up to the magistrates, who condemned them ; but granted to those, who desired it, a right of appealing from the patricians to the people ; and that the determination of these should be final. He added that almost all the other privileges, before enjoyed by the plebeians, had been taken away, since they could not obtain from the senate even a triumph in favor of Publius Servilius Priscus, who had deserved this honor more than any man : For which reasons, it was probable the people were disheartened, and entertained small hopes of their future security ; since neither a consul, nor a dictator were at liberty to take care of their interest, when they desired to do it ; but the concern, and care they shewed for the people drew upon them abuses, and ignominy from the senate. That these things were effected by a combination, not of the most considerable persons among the patricians, but of some insolent, and avaritious men, eagerly, aiming at an unjust gain, who, having advanced large sums at a high interest, and made slaves of many of their fellow-citizens, had, by
treating

treating these in a cruel, imperious, and severe manner, alienated the whole body of the plebeians from the aristocracy; and, having formed a faction, and placed at the head of it Appius Claudius, an enemy to the people, and a favourer of oligarchy, they, under his patronage, had ruined all the affairs of the commonwealth: Which, if the sober part of the senate did not oppose their attempts, was in danger of being enslaved, and subverted. He ended with saying that he was of the same opinion with Menenius, and desired that ambassadors might, immediately, be sent; and that these should endeavour to appease the sedition upon such terms, as they thought proper: But, if these were not consented to, that they accept such, as are offered.

LIX. After he had done speaking, Appius Claudius, who was of the faction, that opposed the people, being called upon to deliver his sentiments, rose up; a man who set a great value upon himself, and not without just cause: For, in his private life, he was temperate, and solemn, and his political principles were noble, and tending to preserve the dignity of the aristocracy: He took occasion, from the speech of Valerius, to speak as follows: “ Valerius would have deserved less censure, if he had, only, delivered his own sentiments, without inveighing against those, who are of a contrary opinion: For, by that means, he would have had the advantage of not hearing an exposition of his own faults. However, since he has not been contented with delivering such an opinion, as can end in nothing else, than in making us slaves to the most profligate of the citizens,
“ but

“ but has, also, cast reflexions upon those, who differ from
 “ him, and attacked me personally, I find it, absolutely,
 “ necessary for me, also, to speak to these things; and,
 “ first, to clear myself of the charge he has brought against
 “ me: For he has reproached me with a conduct becoming
 “ neither a citizen, nor a man of worth, that, desiring to
 “ get money by every method, I have deprived many of
 “ the poor of their liberty, and that the secession was, chiefly,
 “ occasioned through my means. Now, it is an easy matter
 “ to convince you that neither of these allegations is true,
 “ and well grounded: For, say, Valerius, who are those I
 “ have enslaved on account of their debts? Who are those I
 “ ever kept, or now keep, in prison? Which of the seceders
 “ is deprived of his country through my cruelty, or avarice?
 “ You can name none. For I am so far from having in-
 “ slaved any one of the citizens for debt, that, having ad-
 “ vanced my own money to very great numbers, I have
 “ caused none of those, who did not make good their pay-
 “ ments, to be either surrendered to me, or discredited; but
 “ all of them enjoy their liberty, and all look upon them-
 “ selves to be under the same obligations to me with my
 “ friends, and clients, and are considered by me in the same
 “ light. When I say this, I mean not to accuse any, who
 “ have not acted like me in this respect; neither do I think
 “ any man guilty of injustice, if he has done what the law
 “ allowed him to do; but I say it only to acquit myself of
 “ the accusations brought against me.

LX. “ As to the severity, and patronage of wicked men,
“ with which he has reproached me, calling me an enemy
“ to the people, and a favourer of oligarchy, because I
“ adhere to the aristocracy, these accusations, equally, affect
“ all those among you, who, being men of superior worth,
“ think it beneath you to be governed by your inferiors,
“ or to suffer the form of government you have in-
“ herited from your ancestors, to be transformed into the
“ worst of all constitutions, a democracy. For, if this man
“ shall think fit to call the government of the best men, an
“ oligarchy, it does not, therefore, follow, that the thing
“ itself, because it is traduced by that appellation, will be
“ impeached. While we can fix a much juster, and a truer
“ reproach upon him for flattering the people, and aiming
“ at tyranny. Since all the world knows that every tyrant
“ springs from a flatterer of the people : And that the short
“ way for those, who design to enslave their country, is That
“ which leads to domination through the favor of the most
“ profligate citizens, whom he himself has ever courted,
“ and courts even to this day : For you are very sensible that
“ these vile, and mean wretches would never have dared to
“ commit such crimes, if they had not been encouraged by
“ this venerable man, this lover of his country, and told
“ that the action should be attended with no danger ; and
“ that it should, not only, go unpunished, but their condi-
“ tion should even be improved by it. You will be convinced
“ of the truth of what I say, when you remember that,
“ while he was frightening you with a war, and shewing
“ the

“ the necessity of an accommodation, he told you, at the
 “ same time, that the poor will not be contented with an
 “ abolition of their debts, but will, also, insist upon some
 “ protection, and, no longer, submit to be governed by
 “ you, as before: And, at last, he exhorted you to acquiesce
 “ under the present situation of affairs, and to grant every
 “ thing the people should think fit to demand as the con-
 “ ditions of their return, without distinguishing whether
 “ those demands were honourable, or dishonourable, just,
 “ or unjust. With so much arrogance have the senseless
 “ people been inspired by this old man, who has enjoyed
 “ every honor we could confer upon him. Did it, then,
 “ become you, Valerius, to charge others with the reproaches
 “ they have not deserved, when you yourself lie open to such
 “ accusations?

LXI. “ What I have said is sufficient to refute the ca-
 “ lumnies this man has brought against me. Concerning
 “ the subject of your present debate, I am, not only, of
 “ opinion that what I first proposed was just, worthy of this
 “ commonwealth, and advantageous for yourselves, but I still
 “ continue in the same sentiments, and advise you not to
 “ confound the order of the government, not to alter the
 “ unalterable customs of your ancestors, not to banish public
 “ faith, a sacred thing, from human society, on which the
 “ security of every city is founded, nor to give way to a
 “ thoughtless people, who desire unjust, and unlawful things:
 “ And I am so far from retracting any part of my opinion,
 “ through the fear of my adversaries, who endeavour to

“ frighten me by exciting the plebeians against me, that I
“ am much more than ever confirmed in my resentment;
“ and my indignation at the demands of the people is
“ doubled. And I wonder, fathers, at the extraordinary
“ turn of your disposition, that you, who refused to grant
“ to the people an abolition of their debts, and a discharge
“ from their judgements, before they were in open war
“ against you, should now, when they are in arms, and
“ commit acts of hostility, seem willing, not only, to make
“ these concessions, but, also, to grant them every thing
“ else they desire: And they will desire, and the first of
“ their demands will be, to have an equal share of honors
“ with you, and to enjoy the same privileges. Will not that
“ be to transform the government into a democracy, which,
“ of all constitutions, as I said, is the most senseless, and the
“ least expedient for you, who aim at commanding others?
“ This, if you are wise, you will not do: Otherwise, it
“ would be a most glaring absurdity, if you, who looked
“ upon it as a thing intolerable to be governed by one tyrant,
“ should, now, deliver up yourselves to the people, a many-
“ headed tyrant, and submit to this without conferring an
“ obligation, or being persuaded to it, but forced by neces-
“ sity, and as if you had it not in your power to do any
“ thing in your present circumstances, but to yield contrary
“ to your inclination. And, when this senseless multitude,
“ instead of being punished for their offences, shall even
“ obtain honors, as a reward for those offences, how proud
“ and imperious do you think this will render them? For
“ you

“ you are not to flatter yourselves with the hope that the
 “ people will moderate their demands, if they know that
 “ you all concurred in this resolution.

LXII. “ But, in this respect, Menenius, who is a worthy
 “ man, and judges of the good intentions of others by his
 “ own, is very much mistaken: For they will urge you with
 “ an importunity grievous beyond all measure, encouraged
 “ both by the pride which, always, accompanies victory,
 “ and by their folly, of which they have so great a share.
 “ And, if not, at first, they will, afterwards, upon every
 “ occasion, when their demands are not granted, take arms,
 “ and fly in your faces with the same insolence. So that,
 “ if you yield to their first demands, as expedient, you will,
 “ presently, have something worse imposed upon you; and
 “ after that, something else still more intolerable than the
 “ former, upon a supposition that your first concessions
 “ flowed from fear; till, at last, they drive you out of the
 “ city, as it has, already, happened in many others, and,
 “ lately, at Syracuse, where the ³⁶ landed men were expelled
 “ by their clients. If, then, your indignation at their demands
 “ will induce you, at last, to reject them, why, do you not,
 “ from this instant, begin to assume the spirit of free men?

³⁶ Οἱ γεωργοί. Sylburgius has taken notice that Herodotus calls these γεωργοί, according to the Doric dialect, which was spoken at Syracuse. We know nothing of the manner, in which these landed men were driven out of that city by their slaves, as Herodotus calls them, or their clients, according

to our author, because the books, in which Diodorus Siculus, very probably, gave an account of this transaction, are lost. But this we know from ^b Herodotus, that Gelon restored them to their country, and, by restoring them, made himself master of Syracuse.

^b In Polymnia, c. 155.

“ For it is better to act with courage upon a small provo-
“ cation, before any damage is received, than, after suffering
“ many acts of injustice, to complain of what is past, refuse
“ the rest, and begin late to grow wise. Let none of you
“ be terrified either with the commotion of the revolvers,
“ or with a foreign war ; nor distrust our domestic forces,
“ as insufficient to preserve the city: For the strength of
“ the fugitives is small, and they cannot long continue in
“ huts during the winter, with the same ease as they now
“ incamp in the open air ; and they will be so far from
“ getting provisions by plunder, when they have consumed
“ their present stock, that they will not be able even to
“ purchase any from other places, and convey them to their
“ camp, by reason of their poverty, as having no money,
“ either public, or private : Whereas, wars are, generally,
“ supported by plenty of money. Besides, anarchy, as may
“ well be imagined, and sedition, flowing from anarchy,
“ will seize them, and soon dissipate, and disconcert their
“ counsels: For they will not submit to deliver up them-
“ selves either to the Sabines, or the Tyrrhenians, and
“ become slaves to those, whom they themselves, in con-
“ junction with you, formerly deprived of their liberty ;
“ and the men, who have, wickedly, and shamefully, en-
“ deavoured to destroy their own country, will, least of all,
“ be trusted by them, lest they treat the country, that re-
“ ceives them, in the same manner : For all the nations
“ round us are governed by aristocracies, and the people,
“ in every city, are excluded from an equal share in the
“ govern-

“ government. So that, the leading men in every city,
 “ who do not suffer their own subjects to attempt any
 “ alteration in the commonwealth, will never receive this
 “ foreign, this seditious people into their country ; lest, by
 “ admitting them to a share in the privileges of their subjects,
 “ they themselves should, one day, be deprived of their own
 “ share in the administration. But, if I am mistaken, and
 “ any city should receive them, they will, presently, dis-
 “ cover themselves there to be enemies, and deserve to be
 “ treated as such. We have here their wives, parents, and
 “ the rest of their relations, as hostages ; and better we
 “ could not desire the gods to give us ; all whom we will
 “ place in the fight of their relations ; and, if they dare to
 “ attack us, we will put them to death under the most
 “ severe, and the most ignominious tortures. And, when
 “ they know this, be assured they will intreat, lament, and
 “ deliver up themselves to you unarmed, and ready to sub-
 “ mit to every thing you desire : For such distresses have
 “ an irresistible power to break the most haughty spirits,
 “ and annihilate their resolution.

LXIII. “ For these reasons I affirm that a war from the
 “ fugitives is not to be feared. As to the dangers of
 “ foreign wars, this is not the first time those dangers have
 “ been formidable only in discourse ; but, even before this,
 “ as often as we have experienced them, they have been
 “ found less terrible than we apprehended. And, let those,
 “ who think our domestic forces not sufficiently strong,
 “ and, for this reason chiefly, apprehend a war, know that
 “ they

“ they are not enough acquainted with them. We shall
 “ have a body ³⁷ of citizens equal in strength to the revolt-
 “ ers, if we think fit to chuse out the stoutest of our slaves, and
 “ give them their liberty : For, it is better to grant liberty
 “ to these, than to be deprived of our authority by the others.
 “ The former are, already, sufficiently instructed in mi-
 “ litary discipline, by having attended us in many expedi-
 “ tions. And against our foreign enemies let us march
 “ ourselves, with all possible alacrity, at the head of all our
 “ clients, and of the people, who are left : And, in order
 “ to engage these to fight chearfully, let us grant them an
 “ abolition of their debts, not generally, but to every one in
 “ particular : For, if we are, by yielding to the times, to
 “ shew some moderation, let not that moderation exert itself
 “ towards such of the people, as are our enemies, but to-
 “ wards such of them, as are our friends ; on whom we may
 “ seem not compelled, but persuaded, to bestow favors.
 “ And, if more succours should still be wanting, these being
 “ insufficient, let us send for the garrisons of all the fortresses,
 “ and recal our colonies. And how many the number of
 “ these will amount to, may be, easily, learned from the last

37. Προς μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἀφεσηκόας τῶν
 πολίων ἀντιπαλὸν χεῖρα ἔχομεν. The La-
 tin translators, and, after them, the
 French, have rendered this sentence,
 as if they understood that τῶν πολίων
 was joined by our author to ἀφεσηκόας :
 I own that the text will bear this con-
 struction ; but I think the sense will
 be much stronger, if we connect τῶν
 πολίων with ἀντιπαλὸν χεῖρα ἔχομεν : For
 these slaves would, certainly, have

been Roman citizens the moment they
 had been manumitted. Whereas, if
 we adhere to the connexion they have
 adopted, τῶν πολίων will be inactive,
 and signify no more than τῆς ἀφεσηκόας
 without that addition ; as Appian said,
 before, in this very speech, τῆς Τῶν
 ΑΦΕΣΤΗΚΟΤῶΝ διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ὀμολογίαν,
 etc. and, afterwards says, μήτε πρεσβεῖαν
 πεμπεῖν πρὸς τοῖς ΑΦΕΣΤΗΚΟΤΑΙς,
 etc.

“ census ;

“ cenfus; when there were regiftered one hundred and thirty
 “ thouſand men grown; of theſe the fugitives do not make
 “ a ſeventh part. I aver, alſo, that the thirty cities of the
 “ Latin nation would deſire nothing more than to fight
 “ our battles, by reaſon of their relation to us, if you would
 “ only grant them the ſame privileges with our own citizens,
 “ which they have ever deſired.

LXIV. “ But the advantage the moſt conſiderable in
 “ war is That, which neither you yourſelves have yet thought
 “ of, nor any of your adviſers ſuggeſted : This I ſhall add
 “ to what I have ſaid, and, then, make an end. There is
 “ nothing ſo neceſſary to ſucceſs in war, as good generals :
 “ With theſe our city abounds ; while there is a ſcarcity of
 “ them among our enemies : For numerous armies, when
 “ commanded by unſkilful generals, diſgrace themſelves,
 “ and, very often, occaſion their own defeat ; and the more
 “ numerous they are, the more they are expoſed to this
 “ miſfortune : Whereas, good generals, although the
 “ armies they receive are ſmall, ſoon augment them to
 “ great numbers. So that, as long as we have generals
 “ able to command, we ſhall never want men deſirous to
 “ obey. Conſider, therefore, theſe things ; reflect on the
 “ actions of this commonwealth, and determine nothing
 “ mean, ungenerous, or unworthy of yourſelves. What,
 “ then, if any one ſhould aſk me, do I adviſe ? (For, in all
 “ probability, you, long ſince, earneſtly deſire to know this)
 “ Neither to ſend embaſſadors to the revolters, to decree an
 “ abolition of their debts, nor do any other act, that may
 VOL. III. O “ betray

“ betray fear, or perplexity: But, if they lay down their
“ arms, return to the city, and submit their interests to be
“ discussed by you at leisure, I advise you to treat them
“ with moderation, as you well know that all senseless men,
“ particularly, the populace, behave themselves with impe-
“ riousness to the submissive, and with submission to the
“ imperious.”

LXV. When Claudius had done speaking, there was a great clamor, and prodigious tumult in the senate, which lasted a considerable time: For those, who seemed to be of the aristocratical party, and thought themselves obliged to prefer the consideration of justice to That of injustice, adhered to the opinion of Claudius; and desired the consuls particularly to join the better side, and to consider that they were invested with a regal, not a popular, power; or, at least, to keep themselves neuter, and not to overbear either party, but to count the opinions of the senators, and declare for the majority: But, if they neglected both these, and assumed to themselves the sole power of concluding the accommodation, they said they would not suffer it; but would oppose them to the utmost, with words, as far as they might, and, if necessary, with arms. These were a considerable body, and almost all the young patricians adhered to this party: But all the lovers of peace espoused the opinion of Menenius, and Valerius, particularly, the ancient senators, who considered the calamities, which all governments are exposed to, by civil wars: But, being overborne by the clamor, and disorderly behaviour, of the young men, and, suspecting

suspecting the consequences of their ambition, and, also, fearing lest the haughtiness, with which they had treated the consuls might end in violence, unless some kind of submission were made to them, they, at last, had recourse to tears, and intreaties, with which they endeavoured to soften their opposers.

LXVI. The tumult being appeased, and every one silent at last, the consuls conferred together, and pronounced their final determination, which was to this effect; “Fathers, “the thing in the world we desire most, is, that you would “all be unanimous, particularly, when the public safety is “the subject of your debate; but, if that cannot be, that “the younger senators would yield to their seniors, and “not contend with them; but consider that, when they “are arrived to the same age, the same deference will “be paid to them by their juniors: But we observe that “a spirit of contention, the most destructive of all diseases incident to mankind, has seized you; and that the “young men among you, behave themselves with great “arrogance: And, since the remaining part of the day is “short, and there is not time to perfect your resolutions, “depart for the present; and bring with you to the next “assembly greater moderation, and a better disposition: “But, if you should preserve the same contentious humor, “we shall not, for the future, make use of young men, “either as judges, or counsellors; but, from henceforward, “we will restrain their disorderly behaviour by a law,

“ 38 which shall fix the age required in a senator. As to the
 “ senior members, we shall, again, give them an opportunity
 “ of delivering their opinions ; and, if they do not agree,
 “ we shall put an end to their contests by a short method,
 “ which it is proper you should be apprized of beforehand :
 “ You are sensible that we have a law, as ancient as the city
 “ we inhabit, by which the senate is invested with a sovereign
 “ power in every thing, except the election of magistrates,
 “ the enacting of laws, and the declaring, or putting an end
 “ to, wars ; and that the people have the power of deter-
 “ mining these three things by their votes : Now, the present
 “ debate has no other object, but war, or peace : So that,

38. Ταξάντες αριθμον ἐλών ὃν δεήσει τῆς
 βουλευτικῆς εἶναι. It does not appear that
 this threat was carried into execution ;
 at least, not till many ages after, that
 is, in the year of Rome 575 ; when,
 by the Villian law, the ages of all
 magistrates was fixed. ^c *Q. Fulvius
 Flaccus consul est creatus cum L. Manlio
 Acidino. — Eo anno rogatio primum est
 lata a L. Villio tribuno plebis, quot annos
 nati quemque magistratum peterent, ca-
 perentque.* This law, indirectly, fixed
 the age required in a Roman senator ;
 because the magistracy was the semi-
 nary of the senate, into which all ma-
 gistrates had a right to be admitted,
 as senators, upon the first call of the
 senate after the expiration of their ma-
 gistracy, unless the censors could ob-
 ject to their behaviour. Though Livy
 says this law was first enacted by Vil-
 lius, yet he himself, in another place,
 gives us reason to think that some law

of that nature was before in being ;
 because he tells us that the first Scipio,
 afterwards called Africanus, was op-
 posed by the tribunes of the people,
 when he stood for the curule edile-
 ship, for this reason, that he had not
 the age, required by law, for that
 magistracy ; ^d *quod nondum ad petendum
 legitima aetas esset.* This happened in
 the consulship of Q. Fulvius Flaccus
 for the third time, and of Ap. Claudius
 Pulcher, and in the year of Rome 542,
 that is, 33 years before the Villian law
 was enacted. Whensoever the law,
 upon which the tribunes grounded
 their opposition to Scipio, was passed,
 certain it is that there was no such law
 in the early times of the common-
 wealth. This we know from ^e Cicero,
 who says ; *Majores nostri, veteres illi,
 admodum antiqui, Leges annales non
 habebant.*

^c Livy, B. xl. c. 44.

^d B. xxv. c. 2.

^e Philippic. v. c. 17.

“ it is, absolutely, necessary that the people should, by their
 “ votes, give a sanction to our resolutions. We shall, there-
 “ fore, summon them to be present in the forum, pursuant
 “ to this law ; and, after you have delivered your opinions,
 “ we shall take their votes, as the only means to put an end
 “ to your contests : And, whatever the majority of the
 “ people shall determine, we shall esteem That as valid.
 “ Those, who have continued faithful to the commonwealth,
 “ and are to share both our good, and bad fortune, well
 “ deserve this honor.”

LXVII. Having said this, they dismissed the assembly.
 The following days, they ordered all the citizens, who were
 in the country, and in the fortresses, to be present ; and,
 having given notice to the senate to assemble the same day,
 when they found the city was full of people, and that the
 resolution of the patricians was subdued by the intreaties,
 tears, and lamentations both of the parents, and infant
 children, of the seceders, they went, on the appointed day,
 to the forum, which was crowded with a concourse of all
 sorts of people, who were there long before it was light :
 And, going into the temple of Vulcan, where it was custo-
 mary for the people to hold their assemblies, they, first,
 commended them for the earnestness, and alacrity they shewed
 by assisting in so great numbers : Then advised them to wait
 quietly, till the previous decree of the senate was passed ;
 and exhorted the relations of the seceders to comfort them-
 selves with the hopes of seeing those, who were dearest to
 them, in a short time. After that, they went to the senate ;
 and,

and, not only, spoke themselves with gentleness, and moderation, but, also, desired the rest to deliver mild, and humane opinions. They, first, called upon Menenius ; who, rising up, spoke in the same manner as before, exhorting the senate to an accommodation ; and, delivering the same opinion, desired that ambassadors might, immediately, be sent to the seceders, with discretionary powers to make such an accommodation as they should think proper.

LXVIII. After him, other consular senators, being called upon according to their age, rose up, and were all of the same opinion with Menenius, till it came to the turn of Appius to speak, who, rising up, said ; “ I find, says he, “ fathers, that it is the pleasure both of the consuls, and of “ almost all the senate, to bring back the people upon their “ own terms ; I am the only person left of all those, who “ opposed the accommodation, and I remain exposed to the “ resentment of the people, and can be, no longer, of any “ use to you : However, I shall not, for these reasons, depart “ from my former opinion, nor, willingly, desert my system “ of government : But, the more I am abandoned by those, “ who, before, espoused the same sentiments, the more I “ shall, one day, be esteemed by you ; while I live, I shall be “ praised by you ; and, when dead, remembered by posterity : “ And you, O Capitoline Jupiter, you guardian gods of this “ city, you heroes, and tutelary genius’s of the Roman land, “ grant that the return of the fugitives may be honourable, “ and advantageous to all, and that I may be mistaken in “ my presages of futurity : And, if any misfortune should “ redound

“redound to the commonwealth from these counsels (for
 “this will soon be manifest) may you, speedily, reform
 “them, and insure the safety of the commonwealth!
 “And, to me, who neither, upon any other occasion, ever
 “chose to say those things, that were most agreeable, instead
 “of those, that were most profitable, nor, upon this,
 “betray the public to secure myself, may you be favourable
 “and propitious! These are the prayers I address to the
 “gods: For words are of no further use: But my opinion
 “is the same it was, that is, to discharge the people, who
 “continue in the city, of their debts, and to make war
 “upon the revoltors with the utmost vigor, as long as they
 “remain in arms.”

LXIX. Having said this, he ended. When the opinions
 of the senior senators were found to agree with That of
 Menenius, and it came to the turn of the juniors to speak,
 the whole senate being in suspense, Spurius Nautius rose up,
 the heir of a most illustrious family (for Nautius, the
 author of his race, was one of the colony, that came over
 with Aeneas, and a priest of Minerva, the tutelary goddess
 of Troy; and, when he removed from thence, he brought
 with him the statue of that goddess, which the family of
 the Nautii had the custody of successively) This person
 was esteemed the most illustrious of all the young senators
 for his personal virtue; and it was expected that he would
 soon be honoured with the consulship. He began by making
 the apology of all the young senators, and said that neither
 a spirit of contention towards their seniors, nor pride had
 induced

induced them to differ from the latter in opinion at the last meeting of the senate ; and, if they had committed an error, it was an error of judgement, incident to their youth : And he ended with saying that by changing their opinion they would convince them of this : They consented, therefore, that their seniors, as men of better judgement, might decree whatever they thought most conducive to the good of the public, and declared they should meet with no opposition from them ; but, on the contrary, an intire submission to their determinations. And all the other young men making the same declaration, except a very small number, who were related to Appius, the consuls commended their orderly behaviour, and exhorted them to behave themselves in the same manner upon all public occasions ; and, then, proceeded to the choice of the deputies, who were ten in number, being the most illustrious of the senior senators, all of whom had been consuls, except one. The deputies were these ; Agrippa Menenius Lanatus the son of Caius, Manius Valerius the son of Volusus, Publius Servilius, Publius Postumius the son of Quintus, Tubertus Titus, Aebutius the son of Titus, Flavius Servius, Sulpicius Camerinus the son of Publius, Aulus Postumius the son of Publius, and Balbus Aulus. After this, the senate being dismissed, the consuls went to the assembly of the people ; and, having ordered the decree of the senate to be read, presented the deputies : And, every one desiring to be informed of the instructions, which the senate had given them, the consuls said publicly, that they had ordered them to reconcile the people to the patricians, by any means they

they could, without fraud, or deceit, and to bring home the fugitives immediately.

LXX. The deputies, having received these instructions, went out of the city the same day. But the news of this deputation, and of every thing, that had passed in the city, arrived at the camp, before the deputies: And, presently, all the plebeians came out, and met the deputies upon the road. There was in the camp a man, extremely, busy and seditious, ³⁹ quick in foreseeing things at a great distance; and, being a man of many words, and talkative, not incapable of expressing his thoughts: His name was Lucius Junius, the name of the person, who had destroyed monarchy; and, desiring to complete the similitude of their names, he would, also, be called Brutus: The generality of the people laughed at the vanity of the man; and, when they had a mind to make themselves merry with him, they gave him the additional name of Brutus. This person informed Sicinnius, who commanded in the camp, that it was not the interest of the people to submit easily to the proposals, that were to be offered, lest, by demanding things of small consequence, their return might be the less honourable; but to oppose them for a long time, and to act a part in this nego-

39. Οξυς τη γνώμῃ προῖδεν τι των εσο-
μενων εκ πολλης, etc. It may seem odd,
but it is true, that some parts in this
character of Lucius Junius bear a near
resemblance to the great qualities as-
cribed by ^f Thucydides to Themisto-
cles, who was των μελλοντων επιπλεισόν

τα γενησομενα αριστος εικασης· και α' μεν
μελα χειρας εχοι, και εξηγησασθαι οιος τε.
I cannot very well understand how
both the French translators came to
render ετος ο ανηρ *cet aventurier*, *this*
adventurer.

^f B. i. c. 138.

tiation ; and he promised to take upon himself the defence of the people ; and, having suggested every thing else, that was to be done, and said, he prevailed upon Sicinnius. After which, the latter, assembling the people, desired the deputies to acquaint them with the cause of their coming.

LXXI. When Manius Valerius, who was the most ancient, and the most popular man of all the deputies, presented himself ; the people testifying their affection for him by the most endearing expressions, and appellations ; and, after they were silent, he spoke as follows ; “ Nothing, now, “ hinders you, citizens, from returning home, and being “ reconciled to the senate : For they have voted you an “ honourable, and advantageous return, and granted you an “ amnesty for all that is passed : They have, also, sent us, “ as deputies, whom they knew to be the greatest patrons “ of the people, and, deservedly, respected by you, with “ discretionary powers, to conclude an accommodation ; to “ the end we may not judge of your sentiments by appearances, or conjectures, but may learn from yourselves “ upon what terms you think fit to put an end to the sedition ; “ that, if there is any moderation in your demands, and they “ are not impossible in themselves to be granted, or rendered “ so by some insuperable dishonor annexed to them, we “ may grant them, without expecting the opinion of the “ senate, or exposing the success of our negotiation to the “ danger of long delays, or to the envy of your adversaries. “ The senate having decreed these things, receive their “ favors, citizens, with joy, and with all alacrity, and earnestness ;

“neftness; fetting a value upon fo great a happinefs, and
 “returning the greateft thanks to the gods that the Roman
 “commonwealth, which commands fo many nations, and
 “the fenate, which has the difpofal of all her honors, with
 “whom it is an eftablifhed cuftom to yield to none of her
 “adverfaries, willingly departs from her dignity in favor of
 “you alone, and neither thinks fit to enter into fuch an
 “exact difcuffion of what belongs to each, as might be
 “expected from fuperiors, who treat with their inferiors,
 “but they themfelves have firft fent deputies to propofe an
 “accommodation; neither have they received the imperious
 “answers you gave to their former deputies, with anger;
 “but have fuffered this forbidding, and juvenile exertion of
 “your pride, like good parents That of their thoughtlefs
 “children; and judged proper to fend another deputation,
 “to depart from their right, and to fubmit to every thing,
 “citizens, that is reasonable. Poffeffed of fo great a felicity,
 “delay not to acquaint us with what you defire, and do not
 “amufe us: And, when you have put an end to the fedi-
 “tion, return, with joy, to your country, in which you
 “have received your birth, and education, and for this
 “you have made her no good return, in having left her,
 “as far as in you lay, defolate, and a pafture for cattle:
 “If you let flip this opportunity, you will, often, wifh for
 “fuch another.”

LXXII. When Valerius had done fpeaking, Sicinnius
 prefented himfelf to the affembly, and faid that thofe, who
 deliberated properly, ought not to form a judgement of the

expediency of any measure from a single representation of it; but that arguments of a contrary nature should, also, be suggested, particularly, when affairs of so great moment were under their consideration. Then he declared that any person, who pleased, might answer these reasons, without being at all ashamed, or afraid: For the situation of their affairs, and their present distress did not allow them to be influenced either by fear, or bashfulness. All being silent, and looking upon one another to find out the man, who would defend the common cause, ⁴⁰ none appeared, though Sicinnius, often, repeated the same thing. At last, Lucius Junius, the same person, who desired to be surnamed Brutus, presented himself, as he had, before, promised; and, being received with the general acclamations of the people, he spoke in the following manner: “It seems, citizens, that the dread of the
 “patricians, is so far rooted in your minds, that it astonishes
 “you: And, cast down by that, you dare not, publicly,
 “avow those discourses, which are the common topics of
 “your conversation. For every one of you, possibly, thinks
 “that the next man to him will plead the common cause,

⁴⁰ Εφαίνετο δ' οὐδείς. This puts me in mind of a just reflexion made by Livy upon the behaviour of the seceders, when they left the decemvirs, and encamped on the Aventine hill. As the first secession ended in the creation of the tribunes of the people; so This ended in the subversion of the decemvirate: The first established liberty; and the last abolished tyranny. It

seems, the decemvirs pretended to be ignorant of the cause of their secession, and sent deputies to them to know what they meant by it: Upon which, Livy observes that the people were not at a loss for an answer: They were at a loss for a person to give that answer. But [§] Livy has expressed this better than I can; *Non defuit quid responderetur; deerat qui daret responsum.*

[§] B. iii. c. 50.

“and

“ and had rather ⁴¹ That man should undergo the danger,
 “ if any ; while he himself, standing secure, expects to enjoy,
 “ in safety, his share of the benefit arising from the boldness
 “ of the other. But in this he is mistaken : For, if we were
 “ all of this opinion, the backwardness of every individual
 “ would prove a general mischief ; and, while every man
 “ consulted his own safety, he would destroy That of the
 “ public : But, if you did not know, before, that you are
 “ freed from that dread, and that you secured your liberty,
 “ at the same time you took up arms, learn it now at least,
 “ and learn it from them : For they come not with pride,
 “ and severity, to command, as before, or to threaten ; but
 “ to beg, and invite you to return home, and now begin to
 “ converse with you, as with free men, upon equal terms.
 “ Why then are you, any longer, afraid of them, and why
 “ are you silent ? Why do you not assume the spirit of free
 “ men ; and, having, at last, broken your chains, publish
 “ the injuries you have received from these ? Unhappy men !
 “ What are you afraid of, when you follow me as your
 “ leader in speaking freely ? For I shall expose myself to
 “ the danger of displaying the justice of your cause before
 “ them with freedom, and shall hide nothing. And, since
 “ Valerius has said that nothing hinders you from going
 “ home, the senate having given you leave to return, and
 “ having, besides, granted you an amnesty, I shall give him
 “ this answer, which is true, and necessary to be insisted on.

⁴¹. *Αὐτὸν μάλλον*. This, I think, the sense requires, instead of *πάντας μάλλον*, which stands in all the editions, and manuscripts.

LXXIII. “ There are many other reasons, Valerius, that
“ hinder us from laying down our arms, and putting our-
“ selves in your power; but these three are the most con-
“ siderable, and the most notorious: The first, because you
“ come to accuse us, as if we had offended, and think that,
“ when you give us leave to return, you confer a favor on
“ us: The next, that, when you invite us to an accommo-
“ dation, you do not, at all, explain yourselves upon what
“ terms of justice, and humanity we are to enter into it:
“ And, lastly, because we can find no security in any thing
“ you promise us; since you have, always, deceived, and
“ imposed upon us. I shall speak to each of these points
“ separately, beginning with That, which relates to justice:
“ For it is the duty of all, who speak either in private, or in
“ public, to begin from thence. If, then, we injure you in
“ any thing, we desire neither an impunity, nor an amnesty;
“ we do not desire, even, to partake, any longer, of the
“ same city with you; but will live in whatever place Fate
“ shall lead us to, leaving it to Fortune, and to the gods to
“ to direct our course. But, if, injured by you, we have
“ been compelled to make trial of the condition we are, now,
“ reduced to, why do you not acknowledge that you your-
“ selves have wronged us, and stand in need of pardon, and
“ an amnesty? Whereas, you pretend to grant the pardon
“ you ask, and magnify your acquitting us of the resent-
“ ment you yourselves desire to be acquitted of: This is to
“ confound the nature of truth, and invert the claim of
“ justice. That you are not the injured, but the injurers;
“ and,

“ and, that you have not made handſom returns for the
 “ many great ſervices you have received from the people,
 “ in reſpect both to your liberty, and your ſovereignty, learn
 “ from what follows. I ſhall begin from thoſe tranſactions
 “ you yourſelves are acquainted with ; and I beg of you,
 “ by the gods, if I advance any thing untrue, that you will
 “ not bear it, but, preſently, refute me.

LXXIV. “ Our ancient government was monarchy,
 “ under which conſtitution we lived, till the ſeventh gene-
 “ ration : And, in all theſe reigns, the people never ſuffered
 “ any hardſhip from their kings ; and leaſt of all from thoſe,
 “ who reigned laſt : For I omit the many conſiderable ad-
 “ vantages they enjoyed under them ; ſince, beſides the other
 “ methods they uſed of courting, and flattering the people,
 “ in order to gain their affections, and make them enemies to
 “ you (which is the practice of all kings, who aim at extend-
 “ ing their power to tyranny) after they had made themſelves
 “ maſters of Sueſſa, a very opulent city, by a long ſiege,
 “ and had it in their power to grant no part of the ſpoils to
 “ any one, but to appropriate the whole to themſelves, and
 “ ſurpaſs all other kings in riches, they did not think fit to
 “ do ſo, but gave all the booty to the army : So that, be-
 “ ſides the ſlaves, cattle, and the other ſpoils, which were
 “ many, and of great value, every man had five minae of
 “ ſilver for his ſhare : All which we neglected, when they
 “ uſed their power like tyrants, by the exceſſes they com-
 “ mitted not againſt us, but againſt you, and repented their
 “ behaviour ; and, revolting from our affection to our kings,
 “ we

“ we joined you : And, entering into the conspiracy you
“ had formed against them, both those of us, who were in
“ the city, and those in the camp, we expelled them, and
“ invested you with their power : And, though it depended,
“ often, on us to transfer that power, again, from you to
“ the expelled kings, and we were invited to it by promises
“ of great rewards, yet, not to violate our faith to you, we
“ refused to do it, and underwent many great, and continual
“ dangers, and wars for your sake : And, at this time, which
“ is the seventeenth year, we are worn out with fighting
“ against all mankind for our common liberty. For the
“ government being unsettled (as it, often, happens in sudden
“ revolutions) we engaged the numerous forces of two very
“ considerable cities of Tyrrhenia, Tarquinii, and Veii, that
“ fought to restore the kings, with an army, vastly, inferior
“ in number ; and, fighting with the greatest alacrity, we,
“ not only, overcame our enemies, but preserved the power
“ for the surviving consul. Not long after, when Porfena,
“ king of the Tyrrhenians, was, also, endeavouring to restore
“ the exiles with the united forces of all Tyrrhenia command-
“ ed by himself, and Those, which the others had, long be-
“ fore, raised, we, though unprovided with an army of equal
“ strength, and, for that reason, besieged, and reduced to
“ difficulties, and to the want of every thing, by supporting
“ ourselves under all these terrors, we forced him to depart in
“ friendship. And, last of all, when the kings, for the third
“ time, fought to effect their restoration by the assistance of
“ the Latin nation, and brought against us the forces of
“ thirty

“ thirty cities, we, seeing you humbly intreating, lamenting,
 “ calling upon every one of us, and putting us in mind of
 “ our friendship, our common education, and our common
 “ warfare, could not bear to abandon you : But, looking
 “ upon it as a most honourable, and glorious thing to fight
 “ your battles, we rushed into the midst of terrors, and
 “ exposed ourselves to a greater danger, than we had, ever
 “ before, encountered; in which, after we had received
 “ many wounds, and lost many of our relations, of our
 “ friends, and fellow-foldiers, we overcame the enemy,
 “ killed their generals, and destroyed the whole royal family.

LXXV. “ These are the actions we have performed to
 “ assist you in freeing yourselves from the tyrants, in which
 “ our alacrity has exceeded our power, and in which we
 “ engaged rather through virtue, than necessity. Now
 “ hear what we have done to obtain for you the respect, and
 “ command of others; and also to acquire for you a power
 “ greater than was, at first, expected; and, as I said before,
 “ if, in any degree, I swerve from the truth, object to what
 “ I say. When you thought you had secured your liberty,
 “ you were not contented to stop there; but engaging in
 “ bold, and new attempts, perhaps looking upon every man
 “ as your enemy, who desired to preserve his liberty, and
 “ declaring war almost against all the world, in all these
 “ perils, and in all these battles, fought to support that
 “ ambition, you thought fit to lavish our blood. I omit the
 “ number of cities that, sometimes singly, sometimes two
 “ jointly, made war upon you in defence of their liberty;

“ the forces of some we overcame in pitched battles, and
“ others we took by storm, and compelled them to become
“ subjects to you. Why should we particularize the actions,
“ when the subject is so ample? But, who were they, who
“ assisted you in subjecting all Tyrrhenia, which was divided
“ into twelve dynasties, and exceeding powerful both at
“ land, and sea? Whose succours rendered the Sabines, a
“ nation of such strength, who had ever contended with
“ you for the superiority, unable, any longer, to contend
“ with you for an equality? Who were they, who subdued
“ the thirty cities of the Latines, who, not only, were
“ elated with the superiority of their forces, but derived
“ magnificent hopes from the superior justice of their de-
“ mands, and compelled them to fly to you to deprecate
“ slavery, and the demolition of their cities?

LXXVI. “ I omit the other dangers, in which we engaged
“ with you, before we were disunited, and while we our-
“ selves entertained the hopes of some advantages under the
“ government. But, when it appeared you had converted that
“ government into a tyranny, that you treated us like slaves,
“ and that we, no longer, continued in the same disposition
“ towards you, then it was that almost all your subjects
“ revolted, the Volsci setting the example, which was fol-
“ lowed by the Aequi, the Hernici, the Sabines, and many
“ others; and an opportunity seemed to be offered, the like
“ to which had, never before, happened, if we had coun-
“ tenanced it, to effect one of these two things, either to
“ subvert your government, or to render it more moderate
“ for

“ for the future : Do you remember to what a despair of
 “ your sovereignty, and to what a degree of distress you
 “ were then reduced, lest we should either not assist you
 “ in the war, or, indulging our resentment, join the enemy ;
 “ and to what intreaties, and promises you had recourse ?
 “ What did we do then, mean citizens though we are, and
 “ abused by you ? We suffered ourselves to be overcome by
 “ the intreaties, and prevailed upon by the promises, which
 “ Servilius, the best of men, then consul, made to the people ;
 “ and retained no resentment of your former ill-usage ; but,
 “ conceiving good hopes of your future behaviour, we gave
 “ ourselves up to you ; and, having subdued all your ene-
 “ mies in a short time, we presented ourselves to our country
 “ with many prisoners, and a fine booty. What return did
 “ you make to us for these services ? Did you make us a
 “ return, that was just, and worthy of the dangers we had
 “ exposed ourselves to ? Far, far from it : You violated even
 “ the promises, which you had ordered the consul to make
 “ to us in the name of the commonwealth : And this very
 “ person, this best of men, whom you had made use of to
 “ deceive us, you deprived of a triumph, though, of all
 “ others, he most deserved that honor ; and fixed this dis-
 “ grace upon him for no other reason, than because he
 “ desired you to do that justice you had promised, and was
 “ known to resent the imposition.

LXXVII. “ And, very lately (for I shall add one in-
 “ stance more to that part of my discourse, which relates to
 “ justice, before I make an end) when the Aequi, the Sabines,

“ and the Volsci, uniting their counsels, themselves took arms
“ against you, and invited others to do the same, were not
“ you, who are so awful and imperious, obliged to fly to us,
“ who are mean and despised, and to promise every thing in
“ order to ingage us in your defence? And, that you might
“ not seem to have an intention to deceive us again, as you
“ had often done before, you made use of Manius Valerius,
“ the greatest patron of the people, as a cover for your
“ deceit; in whom we confiding, and thinking ourselves
“ in no danger of being imposed upon by a dictator, and,
“ least of all, by a man who loved us, we assisted you in this
“ war also; and, having fought not a few battles, nor those
“ either inconsiderable, or obscure, we overcame your enemies:
“ But, the war being ended in a most glorious manner, and
“ sooner than it was, generally, expected, you were so far from
“ rejoicing, and thinking yourselves, greatly, obliged to the
“ people for the success of it, that you desired still to keep
“ us in arms against our will, and under our ensigns, that
“ you might violate your promises, as you had, at first, deter-
“ mined: However, this person not submitting to the im-
“ position, nor to the indignity of the action; but bringing
“ the ensigns into the city, and disbanding the forces, you
“ made use of this as a pretence for not doing us justice; you
“ abused him, and performed not a single thing you had pro-
“ mised us; but, at one and the same time, you committed
“ three crimes of the blackest dye; you debased the dignity
“ of the senate; you destroyed the credit of this person; and
“ deprived your benefactors of the recompence, that was due
“ to

“ to their labors. Since, therefore, patricians, we have these,
 “ and many other things of the like nature to alledge against
 “ you, we did not think fit to solicit you by supplications, and
 “ intreaties ; nor, as if guilty of heinous crimes, to accept of
 “ our return upon the terms of an impunity, and an am-
 “ nesty : Neither do we think proper to enter into an exact
 “ discussion of these things at present, since we are met to treat
 “ of an agreement; but are willing to overlook, and forget them.

LXXVIII. “ But why do you not explain the subject of
 “ your deputation, and say, plainly, what you are come to ask ?
 “ Upon what hopes do you desire us to return to the city ?
 “ And what kind of fortune would you have us take for our
 “ guide ? What is the alacrity, or joy, that is to receive us ?
 “ For we have not, hitherto, heard you propose any thing
 “ humane, or benevolent ; no honors, no magistracies, no
 “ relief of our poverty, nor any thing else, no, not the least.
 “ Though, in reality, you ought not to tell us what you
 “ design to do, but what you have done ; to the end that,
 “ having beforehand tasted some effect of your benevolence,
 “ we might conclude that your future favors, also, would
 “ be of the same nature. I expect they will answer to this,
 “ that they are come with discretionary powers in all things :
 “ So that, whatever we can persuade one another to agree
 “ to, That is to be valid. I suppose this to be so : Let the
 “ event justify it ; I contradict it not : But, I desire to know
 “ from them what is to follow upon this ; and, after we
 “ have signified the conditions, upon which we think fit to
 “ return, and these conditions are agreed to, who will
 “ under-

“ undertake for the performance of this agreement? What
“ security shall we trust to, if we lay down our arms, and
“ put ourselves again in the power of these men? Shall we
“ trust to the votes of the senate, that are to pass upon this
“ subject? For they are not yet passed: And what shall
“ hinder these from being, again, repealed by other votes,
“ when Appius, and those of his faction shall think fit?
“ Or shall we trust to the dignity of the deputies, who
“ engage their own faith? But the senate have, already,
“ made use of these men to deceive us. Or shall we trust
“ to an agreement, entered into under the sanction of the
“ gods, and assure to ourselves the performance of it by oaths?
“ For my own part, I am more afraid of relying on this,
“ than on any other assurance mankind can give; because
“ I see it despised by the men in power; and, because I
“ have observed, upon many other occasions, as well as this,
“ that involuntary agreements, entered into by men desirous
“ to command, with those, who desire to be free, last no
“ longer, than the power of that necessity, which formed
“ those agreements. What kind of friendship, therefore, and
“ assurance is that, under which we shall be obliged to
“ court one another against our will, while each of us are
“ watching our own opportunities to surprise one another?
“ This situation will be succeeded by suspicions, and con-
“ tinual accusations of one another, by envy, and hatred,
“ and evils of every kind; and by an eternal contest which
“ of us shall first effect the destruction of his adversary, lest
“ a delay may prove the means of his own.

LXXIX. “ And all know there is not a greater mischief,
 “ than a civil war, in which the conquered are unfortunate,
 “ and the conquerors criminal; and in which the former
 “ are destroyed by, and the latter destroy, their dearest
 “ friends. To such misfortunes, and to such abhorred cala-
 “ mities invite us not, patricians; neither let us yield to
 “ their invitations, citizens: But let us acquiesce under that
 “ fortune, which has separated us. Let them have the whole
 “ city to themselves, and enjoy it without us; and let them
 “ possess alone every other advantage, after they have driven
 “ the mean, and obscure plebeians from their country.
 “ Let us depart to whatever place Fortune shall conduct us;
 “ and look upon That we leave, as a foreign country, not
 “ our own: For none of us leave there either his lands, his
 “ paternal habitation, common sacrifices, or the dignity every
 “ man is intitled to in his own country; the desire of which
 “ things might induce us to be fond of staying there, even
 “ contrary to our resolutions; we have not there even the
 “ liberty of our own persons, which we have purchased
 “ with our arms, and with many labors: Since some of
 “ those have been destroyed by the enemy, some consumed
 “ by the scarcity of daily necessaries, and others we have
 “ been deprived of by these imperious creditors: For whom
 “ we, miserable men, are, at last, obliged to till our own
 “ lands, digging, planting, plowing, tending flocks of sheep,
 “ becoming fellow-servants to our own slaves taken by us in
 “ war; some of us being bound with chains, some with
 “ fetters, and others, like the most mischievous of all wild
 “ beasts,

“ beasts, with wooden, and iron collars: I say nothing of
“ the blows, outrages, stripes, the continual labors, and every
“ other cruelty, abuse, and insolence we have undergone.
“ Freed by heaven from so many, and so great evils, let us,
“ joyfully, fly from them with all the speed, and power we
“ are able; and, following Fortune, and that god, who
“ preserves us, as our guides, look upon our liberty as our
“ country, and our courage as our riches. For every nation
“ will receive us into their community, because we shall be,
“ in some respects, inoffensive to those, who will receive us,
“ and, in others, useful.

LXXX. “ Of this let many Greeks, and many Barbarians
“ be examples to us, particularly the ancestors both of these
“ men, and our own: Some of whom, leaving Asia with
“ Aeneas, came into Europe, and built a city in the country
“ of the Latines; and others, coming from Alba, under the
“ conduct of Romulus, as chief of the colony, built, in these
“ parts, the city we are, now, leaving. We have with us
“ forces more numerous than they had, even three times
“ their number, and a more just cause of removing: For
“ those, who left Troy, were driven out by their enemies;
“ but we, by our friends; and there is more compassion
“ due to such, as are expelled by their own people, than to
“ those, who are expelled by foreigners. The colony under
“ Romulus despised the country of their ancestors, in hopes
“ of acquiring a better; but we, who quit a life attached
“ to no city, and to no habitation, engage in a colony, that
“ will be neither envied by the gods, troublesome to men,
“ nor

“ nor grievous to any country. We have neither spilled the
 “ blood of our fellow-citizens who expel us, laid waste the
 “ country we quit, with fire, and sword, nor left any other
 “ monument of an everlasting hatred, according to the
 “ custom of all nations, who have been abused by a viola-
 “ tion of treaties, and reduced to unavoidable necessity :
 “ But, calling upon the gods, and genius’s, who direct all
 “ human affairs with justice, as witnesses to our complaints;
 “ and, leaving it to them to revenge our wrongs, we, only,
 “ desire this favor, that you will restore our infant children,
 “ and parents, and such of our wives, as are willing to share
 “ our fortune : These will suffice ; and we desire nothing
 “ else from our country : May you be happy, and lead the
 “ life you chuse ; since your sentiments are so inconsistent
 “ with civil government, and so incommunicative to your
 “ inferiors.”

LXXXI. Brutus thus ended his speech : When all, who
 were present, looked upon every thing he had advanced in
 relation to justice to be well-grounded, as also what he alledged
 against the pride of the senate ; particularly what he said to
 shew the assurance, offered for the performance of the agree-
 ment, to be full of fraud, and deceit : But, when, lastly, he
 described the abuses which the people had suffered from their
 creditors, and put every man in mind of his own misfor-
 tunes, none were so obdurate, as not to shed tears, and to
 bewail their common calamities ; and, not only, the people
 were affected in this manner, but the deputies of the senate
 also : For even these could not refrain from tears, when they

considered the misfortunes, that would flow from a separation of the people : And they continued, a long time, confounded, pouring forth tears, and at a loss what to say. But, after this great lamentation ceased, and the assembly was silent, Titus Lartius presented himself to answer these accusations ; a man, who seemed to excel the rest of the citizens by his dignity as well as age, and had been twice consul ; and had, of all men, made the best use of the dictatorial power, and caused that invidious magistracy to be looked upon as sacred, and respectable. He spoke first to the point of justice ; and, sometimes, censured the creditors for having acted with cruelty, and inhumanity ; and, at others, glanced at the poor for desiring things unjust, and aiming at being discharged of their debts by violence, rather than favor ; and told them they were in the wrong to quarrel with the senate for refusing to grant them what was reasonable, rather than with those, who were the cause of that refusal : He, also, endeavoured to shew that there was a small part of the people, whose offence was involuntary, and who were forced, by the excess of their poverty, to demand an abolition of their debts ; but that the greatest part of them were abandoned to libertinism, and insolence, and to a life of pleasure, and prepared to gratify their passions by robbing others ; and he thought a difference ought to be made between the miserable, and the wicked, and between those, who deserved favor, and those, who deserved hatred : And, saying some other things to the same purpose, that were true indeed, but not grateful to all who heard him,

he

he did not gain their approbation; but every thing he said was received with a great murmur, some being discontented at his renewing the memory of their sorrows; and others owning that he concealed no part of the truth. But these were, greatly, inferior to the former, and being drowned with numbers, the clamor of the discontented prevailed.

LXXXII. After Lartius had added a few things to what he had, before, said, and touched upon their revolt, and the precipitancy of their resolutions; Sicinnius, who was then at the head of the people, replied, and inflamed them still more, saying that, “ by what Lartius had advanced, they
 “ might learn what honors, and favors were like to receive
 “ them, when they returned to their country: For, if those,
 “ who are in the height of their apprehensions, who im-
 “ plore the assistance of the people, and are come hither for
 “ that purpose, cannot, even now, prevail upon themselves
 “ to speak to them with moderation, and humanity, what
 “ sentiments are you to expect they will entertain, when
 “ every thing shall have succeeded according to their wishes;
 “ and that those, who are, now, abused by their words,
 “ shall become subject to their actions? What pride, what
 “ stripes, what tyrannical cruelty will they forbear? If you
 “ are contented to be slaves all your lives, to be bound,
 “ scourged, and destroyed by fire, sword, famine, and every
 “ other abuse, defer it not; but throw down your arms,
 “ and follow them with your hands tied behind you: But,
 “ if you have any love for liberty, bear not this usage. And,
 “ as for you, deputies, either explain the terms, upon which

“ you desire to recal us ; or, if you do not explain them,
“ withdraw from the assembly : For, after this, we shall not
“ allow you to speak.”

LXXXIII. When he had said this, all present testified, by their acclamations, that they approved of his reasons. After they were silent, Menenius Agrippa, the same person, who had pleaded the cause of the people in the senate ; and, having moved that deputies might be sent with discretionary powers, had been the chief cause of that deputation, signified that he, also, had a desire to speak. The people looked upon this, as the thing they had wished ; and, now at least, expected to hear proposals tending to a sincere accommodation, and to the security of both parties : And first they encouraged him with a great shout, and called out to him to speak : After that, they were quiet, and so great a silence prevailed in the assembly, that the place resembled a solitude. He seemed, in all respects, to speak in the most persuasive manner, and the best suited to the inclinations of his audience : And, at the end of his speech, it is said he made use of a kind of fable, like Those of Aesop, which bore a near resemblance to the present occasion ; and, by this means chiefly, prevailed with them : For which reason, it has been thought worthy to be recorded, and is celebrated in all the ancient histories. The discourse made by this person, as chief of the deputies, was to this purpose : “ We were sent to you by the senate, citizens,
“ neither to excuse them, nor to accuse you : For these
“ things were not thought seasonable, or expedient in the
“ present

“ present distressed condition of the commonwealth ; but,
 “ to put an end to the sedition with all possible zeal, and
 “ by all methods ; and to restore the government to its
 “ former state : And, for that purpose, we are invested with
 “ full powers. So that, we do not think ourselves, at all,
 “ obliged, like Junius, to spend a long time in debating the
 “ point of right : But we shall acquaint you with the hu-
 “ mane conditions, upon which we think fit to put an end
 “ to the sedition ; what assurance we shall give you for the
 “ performance of our convention ; and the resolutions we
 “ are come to concerning both. When we considered that
 “ every sedition is then cured in all cities, when the causes,
 “ that produced the disagreement, are removed, we thought
 “ it necessary both to discover, and put an end to, the primary
 “ causes of this dissention : And, having found that the
 “ springs, from whence the present evils flowed, have been
 “ the severe exactions of debts, thus we reform those ex-
 “ actions ; we think it just that all those, who have con-
 “ tracted debts, and are unable to pay them, be discharged
 “ of those debts : And, if the persons of any, who have
 “ suffered the day appointed for the payment of their debts,
 “ to elapse, are, already, confined by legal proceedings
 “ thereupon, we determine that those, also, be free. And,
 “ as to such, as have had judgement passed against them,
 “ and have, already, been delivered over to the persons, who
 “ sued them to judgement, we order that these, also, be
 “ enlarged, and we reverse those judgements. Concerning
 “ your past debts, therefore, on account of which you thought
 “ fit

“ fit to secede, we redress them in this manner. And, as to
 “ future debts, whatever shall be approved of both by you,
 “ who are the people, and by the senate, after a law has
 “ passed for that purpose, let it be so ordered. Are not these
 “ the things, citizens, that divided you from the patricians?
 “ And, if you could have obtained them, would you not
 “ have been contented, and aimed at nothing else? They
 “ are now granted to you. Return then to your country
 “ with joy.

LXXXIV. “ The assurances, which shall confirm this
 “ convention, and secure to you the performance of it, shall
 “ be such, as are founded both on law, and on the practice
 “ of all men, who put an end to their enmities: For the
 “ senate will confirm these things by a vote, and give the
 “ force of a law to the conditions, that shall be drawn up.
 “ But rather let the conditions agreed upon, be drawn up
 “ here, by us, and the senate will ratify them. That the
 “ concessions, now, made to you, may remain firm; and that
 “ nothing contrary to them may, for the future, be enacted
 “ by the senate, first, we, the deputies, are your sureties,
 “ and give you our persons, our lives, and our families, as
 “ pledges. And, in the next place, the senators, ⁴² whose

⁴² Βεβληταί, ὅσοι τῷ ψηφισματὶ συνε-
 γραφῆσονται. I am afraid the French
 translators have mistaken the sense of
 these words. Le Jay has said; *tout ce*
qu'il y a de sénateurs, en signant l'arrêt
du sénat; and M. ***, *les autres séna-*
teurs qui signeront le sénatus-consulte.
 I do not think it was the custom for
 the senators to sign the decrees of the

senate. The sense, therefore, of the
 Greek words I take to be this: It was
 usual to insert in the decrees of the
 senate, before the enacting part, the
 names of those senators, who, to testify
 their approbation of that decree, assist-
 ed at the drawing it up; which was
 signified by these words, *scrib. affue-*
runt; that is, *scribendo affuerunt*: After

“ names

“ names will be inserted in the decree of the senate, shall
 “ enter into the same engagement: For nothing can be
 “ mentioned in ‘it contrary to the interest of the people,
 “ while we oppose it; since we are the leading members of
 “ the senate, and, always, deliver our opinions first. The
 “ last assurance we shall give you is That in use among all
 “ men, both Greeks, and Barbarians, which no time shall
 “ ever abolish, and which, by the interposition of oaths,
 “ and libations, makes the gods sureties for the performance
 “ of agreements; under this assurance, many great enmities
 “ between private men, and many wars, arisen between na-
 “ tions, have been composed. Receive, then, this assurance
 “ also, and consider whether you will allow a few of the
 “ principal members of the senate to give you their oaths in
 “ the name of their whole body, or insist upon it that all the
 “ senators, whose names will be inserted in the decree, shall
 “ swear, by every thing that is sacred, that they will, in-
 “ violably, observe the agreement. Traduce not, Brutus,
 “ assurances, given under the sanction of the gods, and con-
 “ firmed by pledging hands, and by libations; nor destroy
 “ the most illustrious of all human institutions: Neither do
 “ you, citizens, suffer him to mention the impious violations
 “ of oaths, committed by wicked, and tyrannical men;
 “ actions far distant from the Roman virtue.

which words, the names of these se-
 nators were inserted. The famous de-
 cree of the senate, relating to the con-
 sular provinces, which tended to recal
 Caesar from Gaul, and of which

Coelius sends a copy to ^h Cicero, will
 explain what I have said. It there ap-
 pears that thirteen senators attended
 at the drawing up of that decree.

^h Cicero's Epistles, B. viii. Epist. 8.

LXXXV. “ I shall mention one assurance more, which
“ no man is ignorant, or doubts, of, and then have done.
“ What is That? It is the assurance, that introduces the
“ common advantage, and preserves both parts of the con-
“ stitution by their mutual assistance. This was the first,
“ and only motive, that brought us together, and will never
“ suffer us to be asunder: For the ignorant multitude will,
“ always, want, and never cease to want, prudent leaders;
“ and the senate, who are capable of governing, will never
“ cease to want a multitude willing to obey. This we know
“ by experience, and not by speculation, and conjecture alone.
“ Why, therefore, do we terrify, and disquiet one another?
“ Why do we treat one another with ill language, when it
“ is in our power to do good offices to one another? Why
“ do we not rather open our arms, embrace one another,
“ and return to our country, to taste the pleasures we,
“ formerly, enjoyed, and gratify desires, of all others, the
“ most agreeable? Instead of that, we are seeking frail se-
“ curities, and faithless assurances; like those who are the
“ greatest enemies, and suspect the worst of every thing.
“ As for us senators, we want no other assurance, citizens,
“ that you will never, if you return, behave yourselves ill to
“ us, than the knowledge we have of your good education,
“ of your adherence to the laws of your country, and of
“ every other virtue, of which you have given many proofs
“ both in peace, and war. But, if there should be a neces-
“ sity of a further assurance from an expectation of a benefit
“ by reforming the joint agreement, now entered into, we
“ are

“ are so far convinced of your good disposition in every
 “ thing that we shall require, from the people, neither
 “ oaths, nor hostages, nor any other assurance. How-
 “ ever, we shall oppose nothing you desire. And so much
 “ concerning our fidelity, upon which subject Brutus en-
 “ deavoured to impeach us. But, if any groundless envy
 “ possesses you with an ill opinion of the senate, I desire to
 “ speak to that point also, citizens ; and I beg of you, in
 “ the name of the gods, that you will hear me with silence,
 “ and attention.

LXXXVI. “ A commonwealth resembles, in some mea-
 “ sure, a human body : For each of them is composed of
 “ many parts ; and each of these neither has the same
 “ powers, nor is applicable to the same uses : And, if these
 “ parts of the human body should each of them be indued
 “ with a particular sense, and voice, and then a sedition
 “ should arise, and all of them unite against the belly ; and
 “ the feet should say that the whole body rests on them ;
 “ the hands, that they exercise arts, get provisions, fight
 “ with the enemy, and supply the community with many
 “ other advantages ; the shoulders, that they bear all
 “ burdens ; the mouth, that it speaks ; the head, that it sees,
 “ and hears, and comprehends, in itself, all the other senses,
 “ by which the body is preserved ; and then should say to
 “ the belly ; and you, good creature, which of these things
 “ do you do ? What return do you make, and what advan-
 “ tage are you, to us ? You are so far from doing any thing,
 “ and from assisting us in effecting any good for the com-

“ munity, that you are a hindrance, and a trouble to us,
“ in imposing on us an intolerable drudgery, and in com-
“ pelling us to bring to you, from all parts, supplies for your
“ luxury. Come, let us assert our liberty, and free ourselves
“ from the many troubles we undergo for the sake of this
“ indolent creature. If they should resolve upon this, and none
“ of the parts, any longer, perform their offices, is it possible
“ that the body should subsist for any considerable time, and
“ not, in a few days, be consumed by the worst of all deaths,
“ famine? None can say otherwise. Now, consider the
“ commonwealth in the same light: For this, also, is com-
“ posed of many ranks of people, not at all, resembling one
“ another: Every one of which affords some particular use to
“ the commonwealth, like the members to the human body:
“ For some cultivate the lands; some fight against the enemy
“ in defence of those lands; others carry on a beneficial
“ trade by sea; and others exercise necessary arts. If, then,
“ all these different ranks of people should rise against the
“ senate, which is composed of the best men, and say, What
“ good, senate, do you do us? And, for what reason, do you
“ pretend to govern others? For you can alledge none. And
“ shall we not, at last, free ourselves from your tyranny, and
“ live without a governor? If, then, they should take this
“ resolution, and quit their usual employments, what could
“ hinder this miserable city from perishing miserably by
“ famine, war, and every other evil? Be assured, therefore,
“ citizens, that, as in our bodies, the belly, thus reviled by
“ the members, while it is nourished, nourishes the body,
“ and,

“ and, while it is preserved, preserves it; and, like a common
 “ storehouse, distributes that, which is beneficial to them
 “ all, and maintains their harmony : So, in commonwealths,
 “ the senate, which administers the affairs of the public,
 “ and considers what is expedient for every one, preserves,
 “ guards, and reforms all things: Cease, therefore, to throw
 “ out invidious expressions against her, and to complain
 “ that you are driven out of your country by her; and that,
 “ by her means, you wander about, like vagabonds, and
 “ beggars: For she neither has done you any harm, nor
 “ designs to do you any; but she calls you, she intreats you;
 “ and, ⁴³ opening her arms, together with her gates, is de-
 “ sirous to receive you.”

LXXXVII. While Menenius was speaking, many and various were the expressions of the audience throughout his whole speech. But, when, at the close of it, he had recourse to lamentations; and, enumerating the calamities, that would befall those, who remained in the city, and those who were driven out of it, bewailed the misfortunes of both, tears flowed from all, and they cried out to him, with one voice, to lead them back to the city, without loss of time: And they were very near quitting the assembly that moment, and leaving all their concerns to the deputies, without settling any thing relating to their security, if Brutus had not stood

43. Τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῖν ἀμὰ ταῖς πυλαῖς ἀναπέλασσα. Asking our author's pardon, this prettiness, which might do well enough in a comedy of Aristophanes, is, in my opinion, below the dignity of history; and very un-

seasonable at the winding up of a speech made upon so interesting an occasion. However, this, I believe, is the only time he has indulged his imagination at the expence of his judgement.

up, and restrained their eagerness, saying, that the promises, made by the senate, were, indeed, advantageous to the people; and he desired that great thanks might be returned to them for those concessions: But he said that he was afraid of what might happen in future times; and that tyrannical men might, one day, (if an occasion offered) attempt to make the people feel their resentment for what they had done: And that the only security to those, who were afraid of their superiors, was, for the former to be convinced, that, if the others had the will to injure them, they should not have the power: For, as long as ill men had the power, they would never want the will. If, therefore, they could obtain this security, they should want nothing more. And Menenius having replied, and desired him to name the security he thought the people yet stood in need of; the other said; Give us leave to chuse, out of our own body, every year, a certain number of magistrates, who shall be invested with no other power, than to relieve those plebeians, to whom any injury, or violence is offered; and to suffer none of them to be deprived of their rights. This favor we intreat, and beg you to add to Those you have, already, granted us, if our accommodation is not designed to end in words only, without effect.

LXXXVIII. When the people heard this, they gave great, and long acclamations to Brutus, and desired the deputies to grant this also. These, having withdrawn from the assembly, and conferred together, returned not long after. And, all being silent, Menenius presented himself, and said;

“ This

“ This is a matter of great moment, and full of strange
 “ suspicions: And we are disquieted with fear, and anxiety,
 “ lest we should, by this, form two commonwealths in one
 “ city. However, as for ourselves, we do not oppose your
 “ desire even in this: But grant this to us, which is, also, for
 “ your own interest; Allow some of the deputies to go to the
 “ city, and inform the senate of these things: For, though
 “ we have a power from them to conclude an accommoda-
 “ tion in such a manner as we think fit, and can, at our
 “ own discretion, make such promises in their name, as we
 “ please, yet we do not think proper to take this upon our-
 “ selves: But, since a new matter has been, unexpectedly,
 “ proposed to us, we design to abrogate our own power,
 “ and refer it to the senate: However, we are persuaded the
 “ senate will be of the same opinion with us in this respect.
 “ I, therefore, shall stay here, and, with me, some of the
 “ deputies: And Valerius, with the rest, shall go to the
 “ senate.” This was resolved upon; and the persons, ap-
 pointed to inform the senate of what had happened, rode in
 all haste to Rome. The consuls having proposed the affair
 to the senators, Valerius was of opinion to grant this favor,
 also, to the people. On the other side, Appius, who, from
 the beginning, had opposed the accommodation, did not
 fail to oppose this demand also; crying out, calling the gods
 to witness, and foretelling what seeds of future evils they
 were sowing in the commonwealth. But he was not able to
 prevail with the majority of the senate, who, as I said, had
 resolved to put an end to the sedition. They passed a decree,
 by

by which they ratified all the promises, made by the deputies to the people; and granted the security they desired. The deputies, having transacted these things, returned to the camp the next day; and made known the resolutions of the senate. After which, Menenius advised the plebeians to send some persons to receive the assurances, which the senate was to give: And, pursuant to this, Lucius Junius Brutus, of whom I before made mention, Marcus Decius, and Spurius Icilius were sent: With these, one half of the deputies returned to the city; and Agrippa, with the rest, remained in the camp, being desired by the plebeians to draw up the law for the creation of their magistrates.

LXXXIX. The next day, Brutus, and those, who had been sent with him, having completed the agreement with the senate, by the intervention of the *Ειρηνοδίκαι*, called by the Romans, *Feciales*, returned to the camp: And the people dividing themselves into the *Φρατρίαι*, consisting of the citizens then in the camp, or, however they may be termed, which the Romans call, *Curiae*, they chose for their annual magistrates the following persons, Lucius Junius Brutus, and Caius Sicinnius Bellutus, who, to that time, had been their leaders: And, to these, they added Caius, and Publius Licinnius, and Spurius Icilius Ruga.⁴⁴ These five persons were the first, who received

44. Οὗτοι δημαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν πρῶτοι παρέλαβον οἱ πέντε ἄνδρες. ⁱ Livy does not seem to contradict our author concerning the number of the first tribunes so much as to doubt whether two, or five, were, at first, created.

ⁱ B. ii. c. 33.

However, there is great reason to believe, with Dionysius, that their number was, originally, five; because ^k Livy himself says that, when ten tribunes were created thirty six years after, two were chosen out of each

^k B. iii. c. 30.

the tribunitian power, with which they were invested on the fourth day before the ides of December, as it is practised

class; the last being not considered; *tricesimo sexto anno a primis tribunis plebis, decem creati sunt; bini ex singulis classibus.* It is, therefore, probable that the same rule was observed in the creation of the first tribunes, and that one was then chosen out of every class. I observe, not without some indignation, that all modern writers, whose works have fallen into my hands, treat the tribunes of the people, as incendiaries, and disturbers of the public peace; not considering that the establishment of the tribuneship was, not only, the source, but the support, of liberty; and that, if the Romans had not been a free people, they would have figured in the world as little as any of their neighbours, and would never have erected so immense a power, which liberty alone could raise, as the loss of that liberty subverted it. When I say this, I do not mean to justify the extravagance of every hot brained tribune; but only to shew that the liberty of the Romans was owing to this institution; and that the formed design of the senate, after the expulsion of the kings, and, particularly, after the death of the last, was to render the people as great slaves to aristocracy, as they had, before, been to monarchy; and not to free them from tyranny, but, only, to make them change their tyrants. This I shall shew, not from our author, whose history will supply the reader with numberless instances of what I have advanced; but from Livy, whose diligence in searching

into the ancient history of his country I wish I could commend as much as his impartiality in stating the subjects of dispute between the senate, and people, his just reflexions on those disputes, and his eloquence in expressing those reflexions. ¹ Livy, therefore, will tell us that the news of the death of the last Tarquin transported the senate with too luxurious a joy, the first effect of which was to injure the people, whom, till then, they had courted: *Eo nuncio erecti patres, erecta plebs; sed patribus nimis luxuriosa ea fuit laetitia: Plebi, cui ad eam diem summâ ope inservitum erat, injuriae a primoribus fieri coepere.* The people, in expelling their tyrant, designed to expel tyranny too; against the return of which, in another shape, they could find no security, after the senate had, so often, deceived them, but in the institution of their own magistrates. These ^m Cicero compares with the Lacedaemonian ephori, and thinks it was not without reason that the ephori were opposed to the kings at Sparta, and the tribunes to the consuls at Rome. *Quare nec ephori Lacedaemone sine causâ a Theopompo oppositi regibus; nec apud nos consulibus tribuni.* This was the opinion that great man entertained of the institution of the tribunes; which has been traduced with so much virulence by slavish writers, who, no doubt, understood government in general, and the Roman constitution in particular, much better than Cicero.

¹B. ii. c. 21. ^m De Legibus, B. iii. c. 7.

even to this time. The election being over, the deputies of the senate looked upon every thing, contained in their instructions, to have been performed : But Brutus, calling the plebeians together, advised them to render this magistracy sacred and inviolable ; and to establish the security of it both by a law, and an oath. This was approved of by all ; and the following law was drawn up by him, and his colleagues :
 “ Let none compel a tribune of the people, like a private
 “ person, to do any thing against his will : Let none whip
 “ him, or order another to whip him : Let none kill him,
 “ or order another to kill him : And, if any person shall
 “ act contrary to any one of these injunctions, let him be ac-
 “ cursed, and his goods consecrated to Ceres : And, if any
 “ one kills the person, who has committed these things, let
 “ him not be guilty of murder.” And to the end the people might not, even in future times, be at liberty to repeal this law, but that it might, for ever, remain unalterable, it was ordained that all the Romans should swear, by every thing sacred, that both they, and their posterity would, ever after, most assuredly preserve it. And this ⁴⁵ prayer, and imprecation was added to the oath : That the heavenly, and infernal gods might be propitious to the observers of it, and

⁴⁵ Αἴα. This is an unlucky word for us translators. It signifies both a *prayer*, and a *curse* ; and, the following sentence containing both, the word is no doubt exceeding proper in this place : But, what are Latin, French, and English translators to do, whose language cannot supply them with a

word of this double import ? Portus has said *Precatio*, and his follower, le Jay, *Prieres* ; Sylburgius, *Imprecatio*, and M. * * *, *Imprecation*. I have used both ; because it is as absurd to apply an imprecation to a prayer, as it is to apply a prayer to an imprecation.

chastise the transgressors of it, as persons guilty of the most execrable impiety. This gave birth to the custom established among the Romans of looking upon the persons of the tribunes of the people to be all-sacred: Which custom continues to this day.

XC. After they had voted these things, they erected an altar upon the summit of the hill, where they had incamped, which they named, in their own language, the altar of *Jupiter Terribilis*, from the terror with which, at that time, they were possessed: To whom they performed sacrifices; and, having consecrated the place, which had received them, they went down to the city with the deputies. After this, they, also, returned thanks to the gods worshipped in the city; and prevailed upon the patricians to pass a vote for the confirmation of their new magistracy: And, having obtained this also, they desired further that the senate would allow them to create, every year, two persons out of their own body, to act as ministers to the tribunes in every thing they should stand in need of; to determine such causes, as the others should refer to them; and to take care of the consecrated, and public places; and that the market be supplied with plenty of provisions. Having obtained this concession, also, from the senate, they chose those persons, whom they called the ministers, and the colleagues of the tribunes, and judges: However, they are, now, called, in their language, from one of their functions, *Aediles*, that is, ⁴⁶ *Superintendants of the holy edifices*;

⁴⁶ ἱερῶν τοπῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. These were different from the curule aediles, who were not instituted till the year of

and still retain a power subordinate to other magistrates, which they were, before, possessed of : Many affairs of great moment are intrusted to them ; and, in most things, they resemble those magistrates, among the Greeks, called *Ἀγορανομοί*, *Superintendants of the markets*.

XCI. When affairs were settled, and the commonwealth was restored to its former state, an army was raised, by the generals, to be employed in foreign wars : In this the people engaged with great cheerfulness ; and, in a short time, got every thing ready, that was necessary for the war. The consuls, having drawn lots for their administration, according to custom, Spurius Cassius, to whom the government of the city was allotted, kept with him as many of the forces, which had been raised, as were necessary, and gave the rest to his colleague. With these Postumus Cominius took the field, having with him a considerable number both of the Romans themselves, and of the Latin auxiliaries. And, designing to fall upon the Volsci first, he took by storm a city belonging to them, called Longula, notwithstanding the inhabitants shewed an appearance of bravery, and sent some forces into the field, in hopes of forcing the enemy to retire : But these being put to a shameful flight, before they had performed any remarkable action, the others did not behave themselves with the least courage in the

Rome 388 ; which year was remarkable for three things ; the first plebeian consul, the institution of the praetorship, and That of the curule aediles ;

" annus hic erit insignis novi hominis consulatu, insignis novis duobus magistratibus, praeturâ et curuli aedilitate.

ⁿ Livy, B. vii. c. 1.

assault :

assault: So that, the Romans, in one day, and without trouble, possessed themselves of their country; and also, took their city by storm, without much difficulty. The Roman general granted all the booty to the soldiers; and, having left a garrison there, he led his army against another city of the Volsci, called ⁴⁷ Polusca, not far distant from Longula; and, none daring to oppose him, he marched through the country with great ease, and assaulted the walls; when, some of the soldiers forcing open the gates, and others scaling the walls, they made themselves masters of this city also, the same day they attacked it. After the consul had taken the city, he caused a few of the inhabitants, who had been the authors of the revolt, to be put to death; and, having punished the rest by taking away their effects, and disarmed them, he obliged them to be subject to the Romans for the future.

XCII. He left, in this city also, a small part of the army, as a garrison; and, the next day, marched with the rest to ⁴⁷ Corioli, a city of very great note; and looked upon as the metropolis of the Volsci. In which city, there was a strong garrison; the walls were not easy to be scaled; and every thing necessary for a siege had been, long before, prepared by the inhabitants. The consul ordered an attack to be made upon the walls;

⁴⁷ Πολυσκα, το διασημα, etc. ° Cluver has shewn that we must read these words in this manner, instead of πολυς, καλα διασημα, as it stands in all the editions, and manuscripts. This is confirmed by ^p Livy, who, in speaking

of the towns taken by Cominius this campaign, says; *inde Poluscam, item Volscorum, cepit.*

⁴⁸ Επι Κοριολαν. In Latin, *Corioli*. See the fifty fourth annotation on the fourth book.

° Ital. Antiq. B. iii. c. 8. ^p B. ii. c. 33.

and, having continued the attack till late in the evening, he was repulsed with great loss. The next day, he got ready the ⁴⁹ battering rams with their coverings, and scaling ladders, and was preparing to give a general assault to the city; but, receiving intelligence that the Antiates designed to come with numerous forces to the assistance of the Coriolani, by reason of their affinity to them; and that they were, already, upon their march, he divided his army, and resolved, with one half of it, to assault the city, leaving the command of it to Titus Lartius; and, with the other, to stop the march of the auxiliaries. By this means, there were two actions the same day; and the Romans gained the victory in both; all of them having fought with great ardor: And one of them, in particular, shewed an incredible bravery, and performed actions, that exceed all relation: This person was a patrician, and of no obscure parents; his name Caius Marcius: He was a man of sobriety in his private life, and of a free spirit. The circumstances of both actions were these: Lartius, having marched out of the camp with his

⁴⁹ Κρις τε και γερρα. Harpocration says that γερρον signifies any kind of cover, whether made of skins, or of any other matter; απαν σκεπασμα, ειτε δερμαλινον ειη, ειτε αλλης τινος υλης, γερρον ελεγειο. This is a general explication of the word: But I take γερρον to signify, in this place, what the Romans called, *Testudo*; such a one as is described by ^a Vitruvius; which was a small moveable house of carpenter's work, the roof of which was covered with the

hides of oxen. Under this roof, the battering ram was suspended, and played against the walls of a town. I doubt much whether *Mantelets*, in le Jay, or *Gabions*, in M. ***, are proper translations of γερρον; because neither of these are covered; and, though both may be a good defence against shot, which flies in a horizontal line, yet they cannot defend the men from any thing, that comes from above.

army by break of day, advanced to the walls of Corioli, and assaulted the city in many places: On the other side, the Coriolani, elated with the expectation of succours from the Antiates, which they concluded would soon arrive, opened all their gates, and made a general rally upon the enemy. The Romans sustained their first attack, and wounded many of those, who charged them: After which, the numbers of the assailants encreasing, they were forced down a descent, and fled. Marcius, whom I before mentioned, seeing this, stood his ground with a few men, and sustained the attack of the whole body of the enemy; and, having killed many of them, and the rest giving way, and flying to the city, he pursued them, killing all he could overtake; and called out, without intermission, to those of his own men, who fled, to face about, to take courage, and follow him: These, ashamed of their action, rallied, and pressed upon all before them, wounding, and pursuing them: In a short time, every man put to flight those he was engaged with, and pushed on to the walls of the city: And Marcius, exposing himself, now, with greater boldness, advanced still; and, coming to the gates, entered them together with those, who were flying before him: And many others also, forcing their way into the city in various places, great numbers were slain on both sides; some fighting in the streets, and others in the houses they were taking. The women, also, assisted the inhabitants, by throwing down tiles upon the enemy from the roofs. And every one, according to his strength, and power, bravely defended his country. However, they
did

did not long resist these terrors, but were obliged to surrender to the conquerors. The city being taken in this manner, most of the Romans employed themselves in plundering, and continued for a long time intent on the booty ; there being found in the city a large quantity of money, and a great number of slaves.

XCIII. But Marcius, who had first sustained the shock of the enemy, and distinguished himself above all the Romans, both in the attack of the city, and in the several actions, which had happened within the walls, gave still more illustrious proofs of his valor in the second battle against the Antiates : For he resolved to have a share in this action also : And, as soon as the city was taken, he took with him a small number of men, who were able to follow him ; and, running in all haste, found the two armies, already, drawn up, and going to engage. He was the first man, who informed the Romans that the city was taken ; and, as a proof of it, shewed them the smoke, which broke out, in great abundance, from the houses, that were on fire ; and, having obtained leave of the consul, he drew up his men opposite to the strongest body of the enemy. As soon as the signal for the battle was given, he charged first ; and, having killed many of those he encountered, he forced his way into the middle of their army. The Antiates durst, no longer, engage him hand to hand ; but, leaving their ranks, where he attacked, they surrounded him in a body ; and, retreating as he advanced upon them, assailed him with missile weapons. Postumus, being informed
of

of this, and fearing lest the man, thus left alone, might meet with some misfortune, sent some of the bravest youth to his relief: These, doubling their files, charged the enemy; and the first line not sustaining their charge, but flying before them, they pressed forward, and found Marcius covered with wounds, and many lying round him, some dead, and others expiring. After which, they joined their forces; and, led on by Marcius, attacked those of the enemy, who still kept their ranks, killing all, who made any resistance, and treating them like slaves. Many Romans gained great reputation by their behaviour in this action; but those, who defended Marcius, greater than the rest; and Marcius himself the greatest of all; who was, without any doubt, the chief cause of the victory. When it grew dark, the Romans retired to their camp, greatly exulting in the advantage they had gained, having killed many of the Antiates, and carrying with them a great number of prisoners.

XCIV. The next day, Postumus, having assembled the army, gave great commendations to Marcius; and crowned him with the crowns, usually, given to the person, who has shewn the greatest bravery, as rewards for his behaviour in both the actions: He presented him, also, with a war horse, adorned with all the ensigns belonging to That of a general; together with ten captives, such as he should chuse; and as much silver, as he himself should be able to carry; and many other valuable things, as the first-fruits of the booty. This being followed by great acclamations of the army, in token of their applause, and congratulation, Marcius advanced, and said, that
he

he returned great thanks both to the consul, and to all present, for the honors they did him: However, that he should not accept them; but would be contented with the war horse for the sake of the illustrious ensigns; and with one captive, with whom he happened to have an intercourse of hospitality. The soldiers, who had, before, admired the man for his valor, now admired him still more for his contempt of riches, and for his moderation in such prosperity. From this action, he was surnamed Coriolanus; and became the most illustrious man of his age. This having been the event of the battle with the Antiates, the rest of the Volscian nation, together with all those, who had espoused their resentments, made peace with the Romans; and such as were, already, in arms, or preparing for war, laid aside the thoughts of it: All of whom Postumus treated with humanity; and, returning home, disbanded the army. Cassius, the other consul, who had been left at Rome, in the mean time consecrated the temple of Ceres, Bacchus, and Proserpine, which stands at the end of the great circus, and is built over the starting places; and which Aulus Postumius, the dictator, made a vow to dedicate to the gods, in the name of the commonwealth, when he was upon the point of engaging the army of the Latines; and the senate, after the victory, having decreed that this temple should be built, intirely, out of the spoils, the work was, then, finished.

XCV. At the same time, the treaties of peace, and friendship were renewed with all the Latin cities upon oath: The
reason

reason of which was, that they had not attempted to raise any commotions during the sedition; and had, not only, made public rejoicings for the return of the people, but had, also, shewn great readiness to assist the Romans in reducing those nations, which had revolted from them. The articles of these treaties were as follows: “ Let there be peace between
 “ the Romans, and all the Latin cities, as long as the heavens,
 “ and the earth shall remain in the same situation: Let
 “ them neither make war upon one another themselves,
 “ bring in foreign enemies, nor grant a safe passage to those,
 “ who shall make war upon either: Let them assist one
 “ another, when warred upon, with all their forces; and
 “ let both have an equal share of the spoils, and booty, taken
 “ in their common wars: Let suits, relating to private con-
 “ tracts, be determined in ten days among that people,
 “ where the contract was made: And let nothing be added
 “ to, or taken away from, these treaties, but by the joint
 “ consent both of the Romans, and of all the Latines.”
 These were the articles of the treaties entered into by the Romans, and the Latines, and confirmed by their oaths. The senate, also, decreed that sacrifices should be offered up to the gods, in thanksgiving for their reconciliation with the people, and added a third day to the ⁵⁰ Latin festivals: The first of which was appointed by Tarquinius, when the Romans overcame the Tyrrhenians: The second the people added, after they had freed the commonwealth by the expulsion of the kings: To which the third was, now,

⁵⁰ Λατίναις ἑορταῖς. See the fifty eighth annotation on the fourth book.

added, on account of the return of the seceders. The superintendence, and care of the sacrifices, and games, performed during these festivals, was committed to the ministers of the tribunes of the people, who are, now, as I said, invested with the agoranomical, or aedilitian power; and they were honoured by the senate with a purple robe, an ivory chair, and the other ensigns, before, made use of by the kings.

XCVI. Not long after this festival, Menenius Agrippa, one of the consular senators, died: This person had overcome the Sabines, and triumphed in a most glorious manner for that victory: By his persuasion, the senate allowed the seceders to return; and the people, through the confidence they placed in him, laid down their arms: He was buried at the expence of the public; and his funeral was, of all others, the most honourable, and the most splendid. The fortunes of this person were not sufficient to defray the expence of a magnificent funeral, and interment: So that, the trustees of his children resolved, after consultation, to carry him out of the city, and bury him like one of the vulgar, without any expence. This the people would not suffer; but the tribunes having assembled them, and, with great commendations, displayed both the military, and political virtues of the man, his temperance, and the simplicity of his life; and, above all things, celebrated, with the highest praises, his abstinence from every method of amassing riches, they said it would be the most dishonourable thing imaginable, that such a man should be buried in an obscure, and ignoble manner, by reason of his poverty: And they
advised

advised the people to take the expence of his funeral upon themselves, and every man to contribute towards it in such a proportion as they should order. The people received this proposal with joy : And each citizen, presently, bringing in the proportion he was taxed at, the contribution amounted to a large sum. The senate, being informed of this, were ashamed of the thing, and resolved not to suffer the most illustrious person of all the Romans to be buried by a private contribution, but thought it, highly, reasonable, that the expence should be defrayed by the public, and committed the care of it to the quaestors. These, having given a very large sum of money for the exhibition of his funeral, decorated his body with the most sumptuous ornaments ; and, furnishing every thing else, that could tend to magnificence, interred him in a manner worthy of his virtue. Upon which, the people, in emulation of the senate, refused even to receive the sum they had contributed, which the quaestors offered to return, but presented it to the children of the deceased in compassion to their poverty, and to prevent them from engaging in any pursuits derogatory to their father's virtue. There was also, at this time, a census performed by the consuls : According to which, the number of the citizens was found to amount to above one hundred and ten thousand. And these were the actions of the Romans under the consuls of this year.

The end of the Sixth book.

THE
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS.

THE SEVENTH BOOK.

TITUS Geganius Macerinus, and Publius Minucius having entered upon their consulship, a great scarcity of corn was felt at Rome, occasioned, originally, by the secession: For the people seceded from the patricians about the autumnal equinox, at the beginning of seed time: And the husbandmen left the country upon this commotion; and, dividing themselves, those, who were easiest in their fortunes, joined the patricians; and their servants, the plebeians: From that time, they remained asunder, till the commonwealth was composed, and reunited, the reconciliation not being effected long before the winter solstice: And, during that interval, which is the proper season for sowing all sorts of winter corn, the country was destitute of people to cultivate the land, and remained so for a considerable time: So that, even when the husbandmen returned, it was not easy for them to repair this damage,
par-

particularly as they had been great sufferers both by the desertion of their slaves, and the loss of their cattle, with which they were to cultivate their land; and that few of them had made any provision, for the next year, of corn either for seed, or for their support. The senate, being informed of these things, sent ambassadors to the Tyrrhenians, and to the Campanians, and also to the Pomentine plain, to buy up all the corn they could. ¹ Publius Valerius, and

ANNOTATIONS on the Seventh Book.

¹. Ποπλιος Ουαλεριος. Glareanus, and, after him, M. * * *, censure two points, mentioned by our author, concerning the Valerian family. The first relates to Marcus Valerius, who, they say, was slain at the battle near the lake Regillus, and, afterwards, created dictator. And the other, that Dionysius makes Publius, and Marcus Valerius, the sons of Poplicola, to have been killed at the same battle; and, here, introduces Publius, as one of the two ambassadors, who were sent to Sicily. The first of these objections is, easily, answered, and would not have been made, if they had read, as they ought to have done, Manius Valerius, and not Marcus, for the name of the dictator. Concerning which, I shall not repeat what ^a I have, already, said upon that occasion. As to the second, I do not think it, at all, probable that Poplicola should have had two sons, whose names were Publius, which is the expedient M. * * * has recourse to: I rather think that the name, or rather praenomen of his son, who was slain near the lake

Regillus, was not Publius, possibly Manius, like That of his uncle, who was, afterwards, dictator; which is the more probable, because his brother Marcus, who was killed at the same time, had the same name with his uncle, in whose defence he lost his life. As for the person, who was sent to Sicily, his name was Publius: He was consul in 279 with Caius Nautius, under the name of Publius Valerius Poplicola. However, as great mistakes are imputed to our author by Glareanus, and, after him, by M. * * *, in relation to the Valerian family; and, as no family, ever, produced a succession of greater, and better men, I shall beg leave of the reader, to lay before him a pedigree of it, as far, at least, as these remaining books of our author will carry it; by which, I hope, his great exactness, rather than his inaccuracy, will appear. The reader will find this pedigree of the Valerian family to be, totally, different from That given of it by Sigonius in his notes upon the third book of Livy.

^a See the twenty seventh annotation on the sixth book.

Lucius Geganius were sent to Sicily: Of whom, Valerius was a son of Poplicola, and Geganius, brother to one of the consuls. At that time, the cities of Sicily were governed by kings, the most illustrious of whom was ² Gelo, the son of

VOLUSUS.

PUBLIUS VALERIUS POPLICOLA.		MARCUS VALERIUS. MANIUS VALERIUS.	
PUBLIUS VALERIUS POPLICOLA.	MARCUS VALERIUS. MANIUS VALERIUS.	LUCIUS VALERIUS POPLICOLA.	
LUCIUS VALERIUS POTITUS.			

We know nothing more of Volusus, than that he was the father of Publius Valerius Poplicola, Marcus Valerius, and Manius Valerius. Of the first our author has said a great deal: ^b He was four times consul. ^c His brother Marcus was consul with Publius Postumius Tubertus, in the year 249, the fifth year after the expulsion of the kings, and ^d lost his life at the battle near the lake Regillus in 258. ^e His brother Manius was dictator in the year 260. Publius Valerius Poplicola, the eldest son of Publius Valerius Poplicola, was sent ^f ambassador to Sicily in 262, ^g was consul in 279 with Caius Nautilus; and, also, in ^h 294 with Caius Claudius Sabinus; and, during his consulship, lost his life at the attack of the capitol, then in the possession of Appius Herdonius. ⁱ His two brothers, Marcus, and Manius, as I would read his name, lost their lives in defending their uncle Marcus in 258. The son of this Publius Valerius Poplicola was ^k Lucius Valerius Potitus, who, with Marcus Horatius Barbatus,

made so noble a stand against the tyranny of the decemvirs in 305, and, after their abolition, was, ^l with him, chosen consul the same, or the following year. As for Marcus, the second brother of the first Poplicola, I find he had a son, called Lucius Valerius Poplicola, who, ^m being quaestor in 269, accused Spurius Cassius for aiming at tyranny, and was very instrumental in bringing him to punishment. He was ⁿ chosen consul in 271 with Marcus Fabius; and, also, ^o in 284, with Tiberius Aemilius. I cannot find any thing relating to the descent of Marcus Valerius, who was ^p consul with Spurius Virginus in 298.

² Γελων ὁ Δεινομένης νεωστὶ τὴν Ἱπποκράτους παιδων τυραννίδα παρειληφώς. It is astonishing that both the French translators should have taken their notes upon this passage, word for word, from a Latin note of Casaubon, without taking the least notice of him. The latter has, justly, observed that Gelo was not the brother of Hippocrates, as our author makes him, if we read

^b B. v. c. 40. ^c Ib. c. 37. ^d B. vi. c. 12. ^e Ib. c. 39. ^f B. vii. c. 1. ^g B. ix. c. 28.
^h B. x. c. 9. ⁱ B. vi. c. 12. ^k B. xi. c. 4. ^l B. xi. c. 45. ^m B. viii. c. 77.
ⁿ B. viii. c. 87. ^o B. ix. c. 51. ^p B. x. c. 31.

Dinomenes, who had, lately, succeeded in the kingdom to the sons of Hippocrates, and not Dionysius the Syracusan,

τὸ ἀδελφόν, as it stands in all the editions, and manuscripts. For which reason I have substituted *παίδων*, the very word made use of by Herodotus, in the room of τὸ ἀδελφόν: Since it is not possible to imagine our author did not know that Gelo was not the brother of Hippocrates; particularly, since his favourite author, Herodotus, has shewn who Gelo was, and, by what means, he, first, made himself king of Gela, and, afterwards, of Syracuse. It is a misfortune that the whole five books between the fifth, and the eleventh, in which last Diodorus Siculus treats of the death of Gelo, are lost; otherwise, we should be much better informed than we are, now, of many things relating to Hippocrates, and Gelo. However, I shall lay before the reader a short account of both, not from Casaubon, but from Herodotus; and add to it the number of years Gelo reigned at Syracuse; and the time, when he died, from Diodorus Siculus. Cleander, king of Gela, being slain by Sabyllus, after a reign of seven years, his brother Hippocrates succeeded him. In his reign, Gelo, a descendant of Telines, priest of the infernal gods, having given ^a many instances of his conduct, and bravery, was made general of the horse; and Hippocrates being killed at the siege of Hybla, after a reign of seven years, and the inhabitants of Gela growing uneasy under the government of Euclides, and Cleander (or Cassander, ac-

cording to the Medicean manuscript) the sons of Hippocrates, Gelo, under the pretence of supporting these, overcame the inhabitants of Gela in battle, and made himself king of that city. Some time after this, he possessed himself of Syracuse also, by restoring the Gamori, as has been, already, ^r said: So far Herodotus. ^s Diodorus Siculus says that Gelo died in the archonship of Timosthenes, after he had reigned seven years at Syracuse. Timosthenes was archon at Athens in the third year of the seventy fifth Olympiad: So that, he must have begun his reign at Syracuse in the first year of the seventy fourth Olympiad, when Leostratus was archon at Athens. From this, it appears that the two ambassadors, who went to Sicily to buy corn in the second year of the seventy second Olympiad, were sent thither six years before Gelo was king of Syracuse. This affords le Jay, who has mistaken Casaubon, matter of great censure, as he thinks, against our author, who does not say that Gelo was king of Syracuse, when the Roman ambassadors went to Sicily; on the contrary, he says, plainly, that he had then, lately, succeeded to the kingdom of the sons of Hippocrates: Now, these were not kings of Syracuse, but of Gela: Consequently, Gelo had then, lately, succeeded to the kingdom of Gela; *νεώτερον τὴν Ἰπποκράτους παίδων τυραννίδα παρέληφως*. Gelo succeeded to the kingdom of Hippocrates, not to Hippocrates.

^a In Polym. c. 154 and 155.

^r See the thirty sixth annot. on the sixth book.

^s B. xi. c. 38.

as Licinnius, and Gellius have written, and many other Roman historians, without examining the circumstances of the time with accuracy, as the thing itself shews, but, rashly, relating the first account, that offered itself: For the embassadors, appointed to go to Sicily, set sail for that island in the second year of the seventy second Olympiad, Hybrilides being, that year, archon at Athens, seventeen years after the expulsion of the kings, as these, and almost all other historians agree: Whereas Dionysius, the elder, having invaded the liberties of the Syracusans the eighty fifth year after this, possessed himself of the tyranny in the third year of the ninety third Olympiad, Callias being, then, archon at Athens, after Antigones. Those, who write the histories of early times, and such as contain the transactions of many ages, may, indeed, be forgiven an error of a few years; but not a deviation from the truth of two, or three intire generations: However, it is probable that the first, who gave this fact a place in his account of those times, whom all the rest have followed, finding only this, in the ancient writings, that embassadors were sent, under these consuls, to Sicily to buy corn, and returned from thence with the present of corn,

If I shew this, I hope it will recommend the alteration I have made of τὰ ἀδελφὰ, into παῖδων, to the approbation of the reader. † Herodotus says that the pretence of Gelo, when he took arms against the inhabitants of Gela, was to assist *the sons* of Hippocrates; τοῖσι Ἱπποκράτους παῖσι, because the former would, *no longer*, submit to

their domination, ἡ βεβηλωμένη των πολλῶν καὶ ἡλικῶν ἑλῆναι τῷ ἐρῶ: They had, therefore, submitted to it. This is the force of the word ἐλῆ; which is so very significant, so often used by the best writers, and so often left out by their translators, that I would desire every gentleman, who reads those writers, to pay a particular regard to it.

† In Polym. c. 155.

which

which the tyrant had given them, never informed themselves further from the Greek historians, who was, at that time, tyrant of Sicily, but, without examination, and, as it happened, called him Dionysius.

II. The embassadors, therefore, who embarked for Sicily, having met with a storm at sea, and, being obliged to sail round the island, were a long time before they arrived at the king's court; and, having staid the winter there, returned to Italy in the spring, bringing with them a great quantity of provisions. But those, who had been sent to the Pometine plain, were very near being put to death by the Volsci, as spies, the Roman exiles having accused them of being such: And, having, with very great difficulty, been able to save their persons, for which they were obliged to the activity of their own guests, they returned to Rome with the loss of their money, and without having effected any thing. The same misfortune happened to those, who went to ³ Cumae in Italy: For many Roman exiles, who had fled with Tarquinius out of the last battle, residing in that city, they, at first, endeavoured to prevail upon the tyrant to deliver up the embassadors to them, to the end they might put them to death: But, not succeeding in this, they desired they might detain their persons, as pledges, till they should receive, from the city that sent them, their fortunes, which, they said, had been, unjustly, confiscated by the Romans; and thought it reasonable that the tyrant

³ Κυμη Ιταλιῶτις. Our author has added the last word to distinguish it from Κυμη in Aeolis in the lesser Asia.

See the thirty first annotation on the fifth book.

should be the judge in this cause. Aristodemus, the son of Aristocrates, was, at that time, tyrant of Cumae, a man of no obscure birth, who was called, ⁴ Μαλακος, *Effeminate*, by the citizens, which appellation came to be more known in time than his own name; either because, when a boy, he was effeminate, and suffered that treatment, which is appropriated to women, as some relate; or because he was of a mild nature, and of a disposition too soft to be incensed, as others write: I look upon it not to be unseasonable to suspend the relation of the Roman affairs for a short time, in order to give an account of the opportunities, by which he was encouraged to aim at the tyranny, and of the measures he pursued to obtain it; of the manner in which he governed, and of the catastrophe he met with.

III. In the sixty fourth Olympiad, when Miltiades was archon at Athens, the Tyrrhenians, who inhabited the country lying near the Ionian gulph, and were driven from

⁴ Ος εκαλειτο μαλακος ὑπο των αἰων. Casaubon has a note, also, upon this occasion, which the French translators have rendered in their language, like the other, without the least acknowledgement. In this note, ^u Plutarch is quoted for saying that Aristodemus was not called μαλακος for any ignominious reason, but that he was called so by the Barbarians, in whose language, that word signifies *a youth*. I wish Plutarch had told us who these Barbarians were, who gave him this name. They could not be his fellow-citizens of Cumae, because these were

Greeks; and, in their language, every one, who understands it, knows the signification of μαλακος. But Plutarch, presently after, gives us great reason to believe that this name was given him, by the citizens of Cumae, for his infamous vice: For he says that, after Aristodemus had prevailed upon the army to assist him in banishing the senate, and he had obtained the tyranny, he surpassed himself in that very vice, from which he, probably, derived his name: ην μὲν ἐν ταῖς περὶ γυναικας καὶ ΠΑΙΔΑΣ ἐλευθερος ἀδικίαις αὐτος ἐαυτὸν μοχθηροτάτος.

^u Γυναικ. ἀρετ. p. 261.

thence,

thence, in process of time, by the Celtae, together with the Umbri, the Daunii, and many other Barbarians, endeavoured to subvert Cumae, a Greek city, situated in the country of the Opici, and built by the citizens of Eretria, and Chalcis, without being able to alledge any other just cause of their animosity, than the prosperity of the city : For Cumae was, at that time, celebrated throughout all Italy for its riches, power, and many other advantages, as possessing the most fertile part of the Campanian plain, and being mistress of the most convenient havens round the promontory ⁵ Misenum. The Barbarians, therefore, inticed by these advantages, marched against this city with an army, consisting of no less than five hundred thousand foot, and eighteen thousand horse. While they lay incamped not far from the city, a prodigy happened to them, of so wonderful a nature, that nothing like it is recorded to have fallen out at any time, or in any place, either among the Greeks, or Barbarians : For the rivers, that ran near their camp, one of which is called the ⁶ Volturnus, and the other, the Glanis, leaving their natural course, flowed back, and, for a long time,

⁵ Μισήνον. See the one hundred and eighty second annotation on the first book.

⁶ Ουλτζερνος — Γλανις. The first of these is the most considerable river of Campania, and, still, retains its name, being called, by the Italians, ^w *Volturno*, and *Voltorno*. At the mouth of this river, and on the left of it, stood a town, which, from the river, was called *Volturnum*, where *Castello à mar di*

Volturno, is, now, to be seen. The other river was called *Glanis*, *Clanis*, *Glanius*, and *Liternus*, now, *il Lago*. On the right of this river, and near the mouth of it, stood the city of *Liternum*, famous for the voluntary exile of the first Scipio Africanus, whose country house was here ; on the ruins of which, a watch tower, called *la Torre di Patria*, was, afterwards, erected.

^w Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iv. c. 2.

continued to run, from their mouths, to their sources. The Cumaeans, being informed of this prodigy, were encouraged by it to fight the Barbarians, in confidence that Heaven designed to depress the elevated condition of the latter, and to raise their own, which then seemed low. And, having divided all their youth into three bodies, they appointed one of them to defend the city, another to guard the ships, and the third they drew up under the walls to receive the enemy: These consisted of six hundred horse, and of four thousand five hundred foot. And, though so few in number, they sustained the attack of so many myriads.

IV. When the Barbarians heard they were resolved to fight, they came on shouting, according to the custom of Barbarians, without order, the horse intermixed with the foot, in expectation of cutting them all in pieces. The place, where they engaged, lay before the city, being a narrow valley, surrounded with mountains, and lakes, which was a friend to the valor of the Cumaeans, and an enemy to the multitude of the Barbarians: For, being thrown down, and trampled upon by one another, particularly in the bogs near the lake, the greatest part of them were destroyed by their own people, without, even, engaging the army of the Greeks. By this means, their foot, consisting of such numbers, defeated itself; and, without performing any brave action, dispersed themselves every way, and fled. However, the horse engaged, and gave the Greeks great trouble: But, being unable to surround them, by reason of the narrowness of the ground, and the gods assisting the Greeks, in some measure,

measure, with lightning, rain, and thunder, the others were seized with fear, and ran away. In this action, all the Cumaeans fought with remarkable bravery; and were allowed to have been the chief cause of the victory. But Aristodemus, surnamed Malacus, distinguished himself above all the rest: For, he alone sustained the attack of the enemy, and killed their general, and, with him, many other brave men. The war being at an end, the Cumaeans, having offered sacrifices to the gods in thanksgiving for their victory, and buried, in a sumptuous manner, those, who had been slain in the battle, entered into great contests to whom they ought to give the first crown, as a reward for his superior bravery: For the impartial judges were desirous to bestow this honor upon Aristodemus, who was, also, supported by the favor of all the people. On the other side, the men in power desired to confer it upon Hippomedon, the general of the horse; and, in this, the whole senate concurred: The Cumaeans were, at that time, governed by an aristocracy, and the people had not the disposal of many things. A sedition arising from this contest, the men of a more advanced age, being afraid lest this emulation should proceed to arms, and murders, prevailed on both the parties to consent that each of the pretenders should receive an equal share of the honors. From this beginning, Aristodemus Malacus became a leader of the people; and, having acquired a faculty of speaking upon political subjects, he seduced them by his harangues, improved their condition by popular laws, discovered the depredations of the men in power,

power, and relieved many of the poor with his own money. By this means, he became both odious, and formidable, to the leading men of the aristocracy.

V. The twentieth year after the ingagement with the Barbarians, embassadors from the Aricini came to the Cumaeans with the ensigns of suppliants, to beg their assistance against the Tyrrhenians, who made war upon them: For, as ⁷ I related in a former book, Porfena, king of the Tyrrhenians, having made peace with the Romans, sent his son Aruns with one half of the army, at his desire, to acquire a sovereignty for himself. His son was, then, besieging the Aricini, whom he had forced to fly to their city for refuge, and expected to take it, soon, by famine. When these embassadors arrived, the leading men of the aristocracy, hating Aristodemus, and fearing he might do some prejudice to the established government, thought they had the fairest of all opportunities to get rid of him, under a specious pretence: And, having prevailed upon the people to send two thousand men to the relief of the Aricini, and appointed Aristodemus to be their general, as a man famous for his military achievements, they, after that, took such measures, as gave them room to expect that he would either be destroyed in battle by the Tyrrhenians, or perish at sea: For, being impowered by the senate to raise the forces, that were to be sent as auxiliaries, they employed no men of family, or reputation; but, chusing out the poorest, and the most profligate of the common people, from whom they

⁷ Ως εν τοις προ τελεσθε δεδηλωκα λογοις. See the thirty sixth chapter of the fifth book.

were under continual apprehension of some innovations, they, with these, made up the complement of men, who were to be sent upon this expedition ; and having brought out of the docks ten old ships, the worst sailors they had, and appointed the poorest of all the Cumaeans to command them, they embarked the forces on board these ships, threatening with death every one, who should desert the service.

VI. Upon which, Aristodemus, having only said that he was not ignorant of the design of his enemies, who were sending him, in appearance, to the assistance of the Aricini, but, in reality, to manifest destruction, accepted the command, and, immediately, set sail with the ambassadors of the Aricini ; and, having performed the voyage with great difficulty, and danger, he arrived on the coast near to Aricia ; and, leaving a sufficient number of men to guard the ships, he marched, the first night, from the sea, to that city, which was not far distant, and, unexpectedly, appeared the next morning early within sight of the inhabitants : Then, incamping near the city, and having prevailed upon the citizens, who had fled to Aricia, to come out into the field, he, presently, invited the Tyrrhenians to an engagement. And, a sharp battle ensuing, the Aricini, after a very short resistance, all gave way, and, again, fled to the city : But Aristodemus, with a small body of Cumaeans, who were chosen men, sustained the united shock of the enemy ; and, having killed the general of the Tyrrhenians with his own own hand, he put these foreigners to flight, and gained the most glorious of all victories. After he had performed these things,

things, and been honoured with many presents by the Aricini, he failed away immediately, desiring to be himself the messenger to the Cumaeans of his own victory. He was followed by a great number of merchant ships belonging to the Aricini, laden with the spoils, and prisoners, taken from the Tyrrhenians. When they were arrived near Cumae, he brought his ships to the shore; and, assembling his army, inveighed, vehemently, against the chief men of the city, and gave great commendations to those soldiers, who had distinguished themselves in the late engagement; and, having given money to every one of them, and divided the presents he had received from the Aricini among them all, he desired they would remember these favors, when they returned home; and, if he should be threatened with any danger from the oligarchy, that every one of them would assist him to the utmost of his power. All the soldiers acknowledged themselves to be under great obligations to him, not only, for their unexpected preservation, for which they were indebted to him, but, also, for their not returning home with empty hands; and promised to sacrifice their own lives, sooner than to abandon him to his enemies: Upon which, he commended their zeal, and dismissed the assembly. After this, he called into his tent those among them, who were the most profligate, and the most daring in their own persons; and, having corrupted them with presents, fair words, and hopes, the seducers of all men, he engaged them to assist him in subverting the established government.

VII. After he had secured the concurrence, and assistance of these men, and acquainted every one with the part he was to act, he set at liberty all the prisoners he had brought, without ransom, in order to gain their affection also, and sailed into the ports of Cumae, his ships carrying the ensigns of victory. When the soldiers disembarked, they were met by their fathers, mothers, the rest of their relations, their children and wives, who, embracing them with tears, and kisses, saluted each of them with the most tender appellations: And all the other citizens, receiving the general with joy, and applause, conducted him to his house. The chief men of the city, particularly those, who had given him the command, and concerted the other measures for his destruction, were grieved at this, and full of apprehensions for their future safety. After a few days were passed, in which Aristodemus employed himself in performing his vows to the gods, and in waiting for the merchant ships, that were not yet arrived, when the time was come, he said he desired to give the senate an account of the circumstances of the battle, and shew them the spoils. The senators assembling in great numbers, he presented himself, and made a speech to them, in which he related every thing, which had passed in the engagement. While he was speaking, his accomplices in the conspiracy rushed into the senate, in a body, with swords under their garments, and killed all the partisans of the aristocracy. Upon this, all, who were in the forum, except those, privy to the conspiracy, saved themselves by flight; some

running into their houses, and others out of the city : In the mean time, the conspirators possessed themselves of the citadel, and the docks, and the other strong places of the city. The following night, he released out of prison all under sentence of death, who were many ; and, arming them, together with his friends, among whom were the Tyrrhenian prisoners, he formed of all these a guard for the security of his person. When it was day, he assembled the people ; and, after many invectives against the citizens, who had been put to death by his orders, he said that, having often fought his life, they had been justly punished by him, and that he was come to give liberty, equality, and many other advantages to all the rest of the citizens.

VIII. Having said this, and filled all the people with wonderful hopes, he established two institutions, which are, of all others, the most destructive, and the prologues to every tyranny, a division of lands, and an abolition of debts ; and promised, that he would take upon himself the care of both these things, if he were appointed general with absolute power, till the public tranquillity should be secured, and they had established a democracy. The populace, and, particularly, the most profligate part of it, joyfully receiving a proposal, which exposed the fortunes of other men to their rapine, Aristodemus invested himself with the absolute command, and proposed another measure, by which he deceived them, and deprived them all of their liberty : For, pretending to suspect that the rich would raise disturbances, and insurrections against the common people, on account
of

of the division of lands, and the abolition of debts, he said the only means he could think of to prevent a civil war, and the slaughter of citizens, and to guard against these miseries before they happened, was, for all of them to bring their arms out of their houses, and to consecrate them to the gods, that they might make use of them against the invasions of a foreign enemy, whenever there should be a necessity for it, and not against one another; and that, in the mean time, they would be, properly, disposed of, when placed in the temples of the gods. They being prevailed upon to agree to this also, he disarmed all the Cumaeans the same day, and, the following days, he searched their houses; where he put to death many worthy citizens, pretending they had not delivered up all their arms to be consecrated to the gods: After which, he strengthened his tyranny by three sorts of guards; the first consisted of the meanest, and the most abandoned of the citizens, by whose means he had destroyed the aristocracy; the second, of the most impious slaves, whom he himself had manumitted for having killed their masters; and the third, of the most savage Barbarians, hired by him as mercenary troops: These did not amount to less than two thousand, and were far better soldiers than any of the rest. He removed the statues of those he had put to death, from all places, both sacred and profane, and placed his own in their room; and, seizing their houses, and their estates, and the rest of their fortunes, he reserved for himself the gold, and silver, and every thing else, that was not too mean for the dignity of a tyrant, and

divided the remainder among the instruments of his usurpation: But the greatest part of these presents, and the most valuable he gave to the slaves, who had killed their masters: However, these insisted, also, to marry their wives, and daughters.

IX. At first, he made no account of the male children of those, who had been put to death; but afterwards, either by the direction of some oracle, or from the reflexion he might, naturally, make, that, in them, no small danger was breeding up against him, he resolved to murder them all in one day: But, as all the men, to whom their mothers were married after the death of their former husbands, and by whom the children themselves were bringing up, begged, earnestly, of him to spare them, he was willing to grant them this favor also; and, contrary to his resolution, did not put them to death: However, to prevent their entering into any conspiracy against the tyranny, he took this precaution; he ordered them all to depart the city, and live in the country dispersed here and there, and to be instructed in no science, or discipline becoming the children of freemen; but to tend flocks, and perform other works of agriculture; threatening with death every one of them, who should be found in the city. Upon which, these children, being turned out of the houses of their ancestors, were brought up in the country like slaves, and served the murderers of their fathers. And, to the end that no generous, or manly spirit might spring up in the rest of the citizens, he resolved to effeminate, by education, the whole race of the youth, then
bringing

bringing up in the city; and, with that view, he suppressed the schools, and the exercise of arms; and changed the manner of living, before in use among the youth: For, he ordered the boys to wear their hair long, like girls, to^s dye it yellow, to curl it, and fasten those curls to cauls of net-work, and to wear imbroidered vests, that reached down to their feet, and, over these, thin, and soft mantles, and to pass their lives in the shade: And, when they went to the schools, where dancing, playing on the flute, and such kinds of musical allurements were taught, their governesses attended them with umbrellos and fans, washed them with their own hands, when they bathed, and supplied them with combs, alabaſter pots full of precious ointments, and looking-glasses. By this education, he continued to enervate the youth, till they had completed their twentieth year; and, from that time, suffered them to be considered as men. Having by these, and many other methods, abused, and insulted the Cumaeans, without refraining from any kind of lust, or cruelty, when he thought himself secure in the possession of the tyranny, being now grown old, he was punished to the satisfaction both of gods, and men, and extirpated with all his family.

^s Εξανθίζομενους. I am afraid Casaubon is mistaken in interpreting this word ανθισι παττομενους: For I cannot find it used in that sense in any author. But I find εξανθίζω taken in the same sense with ξανθίζω, against which Casaubon cautions his readers. However, the Greek scholiast makes the following observation upon these words of

Aristophanes, ^x αἱ καθημεθ' εξηθισμεναι· τινες δε και το εξανθίζειν λαμβανουσιν ανθι τε απλξ ξανθίζειν, τχ' εσι ξανθον ποιειν. For this reason, I do not think it necessary, with Stephens, to substitute ξανθίζομενους in the room of εξανθίζομενους. ^y Julius Pollux, in speaking of those, whose hair was dyed yellow, or black, says, ξανθίζεσθαι την κομην, και μελαινεσθαι.

^x Δυσισ. v. 43.

^y B. ii. Segm. 35.

X. The persons, who rose against him, and freed their country from the tyranny, were the sons of the citizens he had murdered: All of whom he had, at first, resolved to put to death in one day; but, being prevailed upon by the intreaties of his life guards, to whom he had given their mothers in marriage, he changed his resolution, as I said, and ordered them to live in the country. A few years after, as he was making a progress through the villages, he saw a great number of these youths, who made a brave appearance; and, fearing they might concert an insurrection against him, he resolved to prevent it, by putting them all to death, before any one of them should be aware of it: And, assembling his friends, he considered with them by what means, they might, with the greatest ease, and expedition, be, privately, put to death. The youths, being apprized of this, either by the information of some person, who was acquainted with the design, or suspecting it from well-grounded conjectures, fled to the mountains, taking with them the iron instruments they used in husbandry. They were, presently, joined by the Cumæan exiles, who resided in Capua; the most considerable of whom, and those, who brought with them the greatest number of Campanians, their guests, were the sons of Hippomedon, who had been general of the horse in the Tyrrhenian war: These came well armed themselves, and brought with them arms for the youths, and also, a good body of Campanian mercenaries, and of their own friends, which they had raised. When they were all joined, they came down from the
moun-

mountains, and plundered the lands of their enemies; inticed the slaves from their masters; released the prisoners everywhere, and armed them; and the effects, and cattle they could not carry off, they either burnt, or killed. While the tyrant was at a loss to resolve in what manner he should make war upon them, because they neither made their attempts openly, nor staid long in the same places, but measured their incursions, either from the coming on of the night, to the break of day, or, from thence, to the return of the night; and, after he had, often, sent out forces to the relief of the country in vain, one of the fugitives, sent by the rest as a deserter, his body being torne with whips, came to him; and, after suing for impunity, promised the tyrant to conduct the troops he should think fit to send with him, to the place, where the fugitives proposed to incamp the following night. The tyrant, being induced to trust this man, who asked nothing, and offered his own person as an hostage, sent those of his commanders, whom he, chiefly, confided in, with a great number of horse, and the band of mercenaries, with orders to bring all the fugitives, if possible, if not, the greatest part of them, to him in chains. The pretended deserter led the army, during the whole night, through untrodden paths, and desert woods, where they suffered exceedingly, to those parts, that were farthest from the city.

XI. In the mean time, the revoltors, and the fugitives, who lay in ambuscade on the hills, with which the lake
Avernus

⁹ Avernus is surrounded, not far from Cumae, being informed by the signals, made by their scouts, that the tyrant's army was marched out of the city, sent thither about sixty the most resolute among them, dressed in leather doublets, with faggots of brush wood upon their shoulders: These found means to get into the city about the close of the evening, like labourers, some at one gate, and some at another, without being taken notice of: When they were there, they drew out the swords they had concealed in the faggots, and all met in the same place. Marching from thence, in a body, to the gates, that led to the lake Avernus, they killed the guards, while they were asleep; and their own army being, by this time, arrived near the walls, they opened the gates, and received them all into the city; and, in doing this also, they were not discovered: For, that night, there happened to be a public festival, and all the citizens were drinking; and employed in other diversions, which gave the others an opportunity of marching through all the streets, that led to the tyrant's palace, without being disturbed: Neither did they find, even at the gates, any

⁹ *Aopov*. This was the Greek name for the *Avernus lacus*. The reason of this Greek appellation is, thus, given by ² Virgil;

*Quam super haud ullae poterant impune volantes
Tendere iter pennis; talis sese halitus atris
Faucibus effundens supera ad convexa ferebat:
Unde locum Graii dixerunt nomine Aornum.*

The pestiferous quality of the air,

stagnating over this lake, which was so ^a noxious to birds, was owing to the hills covered with wood, that surrounded it, as all authors agree; and as it appeared, when Agrippa, by the order of Augustus, cut down these woods: For, after that, the air lost its ill quality. This lake, now, called, ^b *il lago d'Averno*, and *il lago di Trepergole*, lies, nearly, east of Cumae.

² *Aeneid*, B. vi. *l.* 239.

^a Strabo, B. v. p. 375.

^b Cluver, *Ital. Antiq.* B. iv. c. 2.

number of guards upon duty; but, here also, some were asleep, and others drunk, whom they killed without any difficulty; and, rushing into the palace in a body, they found all the rest inebriated both in body, and mind, with drunkenness, and stabbed them like sheep: And, having seized Aristodemus himself, with his sons, and the rest of his relations, they tore their bodies with whips, and tortures, during a great part of the night; and, after they had inflicted on them all kinds of punishments, they put them to death. Having extirpated the whole family of the tyrant, so as to leave neither children, wives, nor any one related to them, and spent the whole night in finding out all the instruments of the tyranny, as soon as it was day, they proceeded to the forum: Then, calling the people together, they laid down their arms, and restored the ancient government.

XII. Before this Aristodemus, who was, at that time, in the fourteenth year of his tyranny over the Cumaeans, the Romans, who had been banished with Tarquinius, presented themselves, and desired him to sit in judgement against their country. The Roman ambassadors opposed this for some time, alledging that they were not come to enter into this contest, nor furnished with any other powers than those they had received from the senate, which did not extend to a defence of the commonwealth: But, when this made no impression, and they saw the tyrant, through the earnestness, and solicitations of the exiles, inclined to the other side, they desired time to prepare for their defence; and, having

deposited a sum of money, as a pledge for their appearance, while the suit was depending, and they were, no longer, guarded, they fled. Upon which, the tyrant seized their domestics, their sumpter horses, and the money they had brought with them to purchase corn. These several embassadors, therefore, having been treated in the manner I have mentioned, returned without effecting any thing. But those, who had been sent to Tyrrhenia, bought up a quantity of millet, and spelt in that country, and brought it to Rome in boats. This supply maintained the Romans for a short time : But, when consumed, left them in the same want as before. And there was no sort of food mankind were, ever, reduced to through necessity, which they did not attempt to eat. By which it happened that not a few of them, as well by want, as by the mischief arising from unaccustomed food, were thrown into diseases ; or, by being neglected by reason of their poverty, were, intirely, unable to help themselves. When the Volsci, who had been lately overcome, heard this, they solicited one another, by private embassies, to enter into a war against the Romans, upon a supposition, that, if any one attacked them, while they were distressed both by war, and famine, they would be unable to resist. But the benevolence of the gods, who were, always, careful not to suffer the Romans to be subdued by their enemies, shewed her power upon this occasion, also, in a most conspicuous manner : For, so great a pestilence seized, at once, the inhabitants of the Volscian cities, that the like to it had never been heard of in any other parts, either among the
Barbarians,

Barbarians, or Greeks, and destroyed them without distinction of age, condition, or sex, or of strong, or weak constitutions. Velitrae, a considerable city of the Volsci, of large extent, and, till then, very populous, was an instance of the greatness of this calamity; of whose inhabitants the plague left but one part out of ten, and carried off all the rest. At last, those, who survived this misfortune, sent ambassadors to the Romans, to inform them of their desolation, and to deliver up their city to them: For they had, even before that time, received a colony from Rome; for which reason, they, now, desired a second to be sent to them.

XIII. When the Romans were informed of these things, they compassionated their misfortune; and thought themselves obliged to retain no resentment against their enemies, when under so severe an affliction; since the gods had, sufficiently, punished them for the designs they had formed against their commonwealth. As to the city of Velitrae, they thought proper to receive it, and to send a numerous colony thither, in consideration of the many advantages, that would result to them from that measure: For the place itself, when strongly garrisoned, seemed very proper to check, and obstruct the designs of those, who might be disposed to innovate, or raise commotions: And it was expected that the scarcity of provisions, under which the city, then, laboured, would be far less sensible, if any considerable number of the citizens were removed. But, above all other considerations, the fresh sedition, which was, then, breaking out, before the former was quite appeased, induced them

to order the colony to be sent to Velitrae: For the people began, again, to be inflamed, as before, and to be exasperated against the patricians: And many severe reflexions were thrown out against them, some accusing them of neglect, and indolence, in not having, long, foreseen the scarcity of corn, and taken the necessary precautions to avert that calamity; and others giving out that this scarcity was occasioned by their contrivance, and flowed from their resentment, and a desire to distress the people, in remembrance of their secession: For these reasons, the colony was, presently, sent; ¹⁰ three persons being appointed by the senate to be the leaders of it. At first, the people were pleased that lands were to be allotted to some of their number, who, by that means, would be freed from the famine, and inhabit a fertile country: But, afterwards, when they considered that the pestilence had raged violently in the city, that was to receive them, and destroyed the inhabitants, and gave room to fear that it would treat the colony in the same manner, they, by degrees, entertained contrary sentiments: So that, not many offered themselves to partake of the colony, but fewer, by many, than the senate had decreed: And these, already, blamed themselves for having taken an imprudent resolution, and declined going out. However, they were

¹⁰. Τριων ἀνδρων. These were called, by the Romans, *Triumviri Agrarii*, or *Triumviri coloniae deducendae*. These triumvirs, le Jay says, were created by the people, in the *Comitia tributa*. *Les triumvirs se créoient dans une assemblée du peuple par tribus*. Here is a double error. In the first place, our author says, ex-

pressly, that these triumvirs were created by the senate: And secondly, there were, as yet, no *tributa comitia*; the trial of Coriolanus having given occasion to the tribunes of the people to institute these comitia. The reasons of which will be explained by our author in the fifty ninth chapter of this book.

taken into it, and so were the others, who did not, willingly, join them; the senate having ordered that all the Romans should draw lots for completing the colony; and that all those, upon whom the lot fell, should be punished in a severe, and inexorable manner, if they did not go. This colony, therefore, was sent to Velitrae by a specious compulsion. And, not many days after, another colony was sent to ¹¹Norba, which is no inconsiderable city of the Latines.

XIV. However the design of the patricians, as far as it related to the appeasing of the sedition, was, intirely, disappointed: For the people, who were left at home, were, now, more exasperated than before, and clamoured, violently, against the senators: They assembled, at first, in small numbers, and held meetings with their friends; but, afterwards, as the famine encreased, they met in a body; and, running into the forum, called upon the tribunes. And these having assembled the people, Spurius Icilius, who was, then, at the head of the college of the tribunes, rose up, and, not only, used many invectives against the senate himself, inflaming, by all possible means, the envy of the people against them, but, also, called upon others to deliver their sentiments in public; and, particularly, upon Sicinnius, and Brutus, who were then ediles (calling each of them by their name) and had been the authors of the first secession of the people; and, having introduced the tribunitian power, had,

¹¹. Εἰς Νορβαν πόλιν. ^c *Norba*, now of the Latines, after Latium extended called, *Norma*, and *Norme*, was a city eastward as far as the Liris.

^c Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iii, c. 8.

first, been invested with it. These, having, long before, prepared the most malicious speeches, rose up, and enlarged upon those points, that were grateful to the generality of the people, alledging that the want of corn was occasioned by the contrivance, and treachery of the rich, against whose will the people had acquired their liberty by the secession. And they shewed that the rich had not, in the least degree, an equal share of this calamity with the poor; the former having provisions, privately, hoarded up; and, wanting no money to purchase Those, that were imported, they laughed at the famine: Whereas the plebeians were in want of both. They added, that they had sent the colony, which was destined to breathe a pestilential air, to a manifest, and much worse destruction; and, exaggerating, with all their power, the terror of these things, asked, What end there was to be of their miseries? They put them in mind of the stripes they had, formerly, received from the rich, and laid open many other things of this nature with great freedom. And Brutus closed his speech with this threat, that, if they would follow his advice, he would, soon, compel those, who had kindled this mischief, to extinguish it. After which, the assembly was dismissed.

XV. The next day, the consuls, being terrified with these new commotions, and looking upon the popularity of Brutus to threaten the commonwealth with some great evil, assembled the senate: Where many, and various things were proposed, both by the consuls themselves, and by the rest of the ancient senators: Some being of opinion that they ought

to

to court the people by all possible expressions of kindness, and by promises of effectual relief, and to moderate the heat of their leaders by communicating their counsels with them, and by inviting them to deliberate, jointly with themselves, on the public utility : But others advised not to yield, or relax, in any thing, to an imperious, and ignorant multitude, and to the bold, and insufferable madness of the flatterers of the people ; but to clear themselves of their accusations, by assuring the plebeians, that the patricians were, in no respect, the occasion of what had happened ; and that they would take all possible care to remedy this evil ; and, also, to reprimand the disturbers of the people, and to let them know, that, if they did not desist from inflaming the sedition, they should be brought to condign punishment. Appius was at the head of those, who were of this opinion, which carried it, after very great contests among the senators : So that, even the people, hearing the clamor at a great distance, ran, in disorder, to the senate, and the whole city was alarmed. After this, the consuls, going into the forum, called the people together (the day being almost spent) and were going to inform them of the resolutions of the senate : But the tribunes opposed it. Upon which, they neither spoke in their turns, nor observed any decency in their debate : For they cried out together, and endeavoured to ¹² exclude one another from the assembly : So that, it was not

¹². Εξεκλειον. I cannot find this word used in the sense, which all the translators have given to it ; that is *obstreperabant*. The only signification I have,

ever, observed it to be taken in is That of *excldebant*, which, for that reason, I think myself obliged to adhere to.

eafy for thofe, who were prefent, to underftand what they meant.

XVI. The confuls thought it reasonable that, as they had the fuperior power, they fhould have the fole command in the city : On the other fide, the tribunes infifted that the affembly of the people was their peculiar fphere, as the fenate was That of the confuls ; and that, whatever the people had the authority to judge, and determine, was fubject to their power alone. The people fupported thefe by their acclamations ; and, at the fame time, were prepared (if neceffary) to attack their oppofers : On the other fide, the patricians, gathering round the confuls, encouraged them ; and a violent conteft infued, each fide infifting upon not yielding to the other, as if, by this fingle defeat, the claim of each was, for the future, to be given up. The fun, now, declining, the reft of the people ran out of their houfes to the forum ; and, if the night had not put an end to the conteft, they had proceeded to blows, and throwing of ftones. But, to prevent this, Brutus prefented himfelf, and defired the confuls to give him leave to fpeak, promifing to appeafe the tumult : And they, looking upon this as a yielding to them, becaufe, when the tribunes were prefent, that patron of the people had not afked this favor of them, gave him leave. And all being filent, Brutus made no fpeech, but, only, afked the confuls the following queftion ; Do you remember, faid he, that, when we put an end to the fedition by an accommodation, this right was granted to us, that, when the tribunes fhould affemble the people upon any account whatever,

ever, the patricians should not be present at the assembly, or create any disturbance there? We remember it, answered Geganius. Then, Brutus added, “Why, therefore, “do you oppose us, and not suffer the tribunes to say what “they please?” To this Geganius replied; “Because the “tribunes did not assemble the people, but the consuls: If, “therefore, the people had been assembled by them, we should “have neither opposed, nor inquired into what they were “doing; but, since we ourselves have assembled them, we do “not hinder the tribunes from speaking, but complain that “we ourselves are hindered by them.” Then, Brutus said; “We have conquered, citizens; and our adversaries have “yielded every thing to us we desired. Now, therefore, de- “part, and cease to contend: And I promise you that, to “morrow, I will shew you your strength. And you, tribunes, “yield the forum to them, for the present: You will not, al- “ways, yield it, when you know how great a power your ma- “gistracy is possessed of: This you will be informed of shortly; “and I myself engage to make it appear to you; and, at the “same time, to humble the pride of these men: And, if you “find I have imposed upon you, treat me as you think fit.”

XVII. None having opposed this, both parties left the assembly; but not with the like impressions: For the poor were of opinion that Brutus had found out something extraordinary, and that he had not, rashly, made a promise of that nature. On the other side, the patricians despised the levity of the man, and thought the boldness of his promises would go no farther than words: They imagined

that no other power had been granted by the senate to the tribunes, than That of relieving the plebeians, when oppressed. However, this inattention to the importance of the affair did not, equally, possess all the senators, and, least of all, Those of a more advanced age, who were upon their guard, lest the madness of this man might occasion some irreparable mischief. The following night, Brutus, having communicated his thoughts to the tribunes, and prepared a good number of the plebeians to support him, went with them to the forum ; and, before sun-rise, they possessed themselves of the temple of Vulcan, where the assemblies of the people were, usually, held, and the tribunes called the citizens together : And the forum being crowded (for greater multitudes appeared upon this occasion, than had ever been known before) Icilius, the tribune, rose up, and made a long speech against the patricians, putting the people in mind of all they had suffered from them : After which, he told them that, the day before, he had been hindered by them from speaking, and deprived of the power of his magistracy. “ What other power, says he, shall we have after this, if we “ are not allowed even That of speaking ? How shall we “ be able to relieve any of you, when oppressed by them, “ if we are deprived of the authority of assembling you ? “ For all actions are governed by words ; and it is manifest “ that those, who are not allowed to say what they think, “ will not be allowed to execute what they please. Resume, “ therefore, the power you have given us, says he, unless “ you design to secure that power ; or enact a law to prevent “ all

“ all opposition to us for the future.” Having said this, the people cried out to him with great acclamations, to bring in the law : Which Icilius, who had it ready drawn up, read to them ; and, immediately, put it to the vote : For the affair seemed to admit of no delay, lest some opposition might be made to it by the consuls. The law was as follows : “ When a tribune is speaking to the people, let no
 “ man oppose, or interrupt, him : Whoever shall act con-
 “ trary to this, let him, if required, give sureties to the tri-
 “ bunes for the payment of the fine they shall impose upon
 “ him : If he refuses to give sureties, let him be punished
 “ with death, and his goods be consecrated : And let the con-
 “ tests, relating to these fines, be determined by the people.” After the tribunes had taken their votes in favor of this law, they dismissed the assembly : And the people departed full of joy, and gave great thanks to Brutus, whom they looked upon as the inventor of the law.

XVIII. After this, there happened many contests upon various subjects between the tribunes, and the consuls ; and neither did the people esteem valid what the senate had decreed, nor the senate approve of what the people had determined : But both of them persisted in their opposition to, and suspicions of, one another. However, their hatred did not break out into any irreparable mischief, as it often happens in the like disorders. For the poor did not attack the houses of the rich, where they might expect to find provisions laid up, nor attempt to rob the markets ; but submitted to buy small quantities of victuals at a great price ; and, when they wanted

money, they fed patiently on roots, and herbs: Neither did the rich, in confidence of their own strength, and of the strength of their clients, who were very numerous, offer violence to the weaker sort; and aim at making themselves masters of the city, by driving out some of the poor, and killing others: But, like fathers, who treat their sons with the greatest prudence, they continued to bear their errors with a ¹³ disposition full of benevolence, and solicitude for their happiness. While Rome was in this situation, the neighbouring cities invited such of the Romans as desired it, to live among them, alluring them by a communication of the privileges of their cities, and the hopes of other good usage; some, from the best of motives, friendship, and compassion for their misfortune; but the greatest part, through envy of their former prosperity. And very great numbers removed with their whole families; some of whom returned, when the affairs of the city were composed; and others remained where they were.

XIX. The consuls, seeing these things, thought fit to raise forces, in which the senate concurred, and to march with them out of the city. Their design was favoured by the frequent incursions, and depredations of their enemies, by

¹³ Εὐνοσση καὶ κηδεμονίᾳ τῇ οἰσῇ. I should have imagined these two epithets might have taught the translators that οἰσῇ, in this place, does not signify *Anger*. Yet Sylburgius, and the two French translators, have given it that sense. Portus has avoided the mistake. Οἰσῇ is used by our author, upon this

occasion, in the same signification, in which ^d Thucydides uses the word, when Pericles says to the Athenians; Καίπερ εἶδως τὰς ἀνθρώπων ἃ τῇ αὐτῇ ὀργῇ ἀναπειθομένους τε πολεμεῖν, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐξῆς πρᾶσσι: Where the Greek scholiast explains οἰσῇ, by διανοίᾳ, τροπῇ, σκοπῇ.

^d B. i. c. 140:

which

which their country was laid waste ; and they, also, considered the other advantages, that would result from sending an army into the field ; that those, who were left, being fewer in number, would enjoy a greater plenty of provisions ; that the army, by supporting themselves in the enemy's country, would live in greater abundance ; and that the sedition would be appeased, as long as the expedition lasted : But, above all, it seemed, that if the patricians, and plebeians served together, an equal share both of good, and ill fortune, in all the dangers of the war, would, effectually, confirm their reconciliation. But the people did not obey them, nor willingly, as before, offer themselves to lift in the service : And the consuls did not think fit to enforce the law against those, who were unwilling to serve. But some patrician volunteers, together with their clients, were enlisted : And, when they marched out of the city, they were joined by a small number of the people. This army was commanded by Caius Marcius, who had taken the city of Corioli, and distinguished himself above all others in the battle against the Antiates. The greatest part of the plebeians, who assisted in this expedition, seeing him take the field, were induced to it from affection, and others, from the hopes of success : For this man was, already, famous, and the enemy, greatly, afraid of him. This army, having marched as far as the city of Antium, made themselves masters, not only, of a great deal of corn they found in the fields, but, likewise, of a great number of slaves, and cattle ; and, after a short time, returned better supplied, than before, with all the
neccf-

necessaries of life : So that, those, who had declined the service, were full of confusion, and of resentment against their demagogues, by whose means they looked upon themselves to have been deprived of the same felicity. Thus Geganius, and Minucius, the consuls of this year, after great, and various storms, in which they were, often, in danger of subverting the commonwealth, occasioned no misfortune to it; but preserved it intire, by acting, upon every occasion, in such a manner, that their prudence was more conspicuous than their good fortune.

XX. The following consuls, Marcus Minucius Augurinus, and Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, who were both invested with this magistracy for the second time, being not unskilled either in military affairs, or in speaking, took great care to supply the city with plenty both of corn, and of all other provisions, looking upon the union of the people with the senate to depend upon that abundance. However, they had not the good fortune to obtain both these ends at the same time; but the satiety of these advantages was attended with the insolence of those, who had the benefit of them. Upon which occasion, Rome was, again, exposed to the greatest danger, when it was least expected: For the ambassadors, sent to buy corn, brought all they had purchased, both in the maritime, and inland markets, to the city for the use of the public: And the merchants also, who used to import corn, flocked thither from all parts: Of whom the commonwealth bought their lading with the public money, and preserved it carefully. At the same time, Geganius, and Valerius,

Valerius, who had, before, been sent embassadors to Sicily, arrived with many merchant ships, in which they brought fifty thousand ¹⁴ Sicilian bushels of wheat; one half of which was purchased at a very low price, and the rest the king had made the Romans a present of, and sent it at his own expence. When it was known at Rome that the ships were arrived from Sicily laden with corn, the patricians deliberated, a long time, concerning the disposal of it: For those among them, who were most humane, and the greatest favourers of the people, reflecting on the public necessity, advised them to distribute the corn, given them by the king, among all the plebeians; and to sell That, which had been purchased with the public money, to them at a low price; shewing that, by these favors, more than by any other means, the animosity of the poor against the rich would be softened. On the other side, those, who were of a more haughty disposition, and more zealous for the oligarchy, were of opinion that they ought to employ all their endeavours, and every method, to oppress the plebeians; and these advised to sell the corn to them at the highest price possible; to the end they might, through necessity, become more modest, and more observant of the rules prescribed by their constitution.

XXI. One of these oligarchical patricians was that Marcius, surnamed Coriolanus, who did not, like the rest,

¹⁴• *Μεδιμνων Σικελικων*. Suidas, from Harpocration, says that the *μεδιμνος* contained forty eight choenix's, that is, according to Arbuthnot, four pecks, and six pints, English measure: This

was the *μεδιμνος Αττικος*. But there was another *μεδιμνος*, called *γεωργικος*, which, I believe, was the same with the *μεδιμνος Σικελικος*: This contained six Roman *Modii*, that is, six English pecks.

deliver

deliver his opinion with secrecy, and caution, but with so much openness, and boldness, that many, even of the plebeians, heard him. Besides his complaints against them, which were of a public nature, he had, lately, received some personal provocations, that seemed to justify his hatred of the plebeians: For, having offered himself as a candidate for the consulship at the last election, and being supported by the patricians, the people opposed him, and would not suffer that magistracy to be conferred on him: To which they were induced by their apprehensions, lest a man of his reputation, and boldness, might attempt some innovation to the subversion of the tribuneship; and they were the more afraid of him, because the whole body of the patricians promoted his interest with a zeal they had, never before, shewn for any other candidate. The man, therefore, being exasperated with this ignominy, and, at the same time, desirous to restore the government to its ¹⁵ancient form, he, not only, endeavoured openly, as I said, to subvert the power of the people himself, but, also, sought to ingage the rest of the patricians in the same design. He was supported by a strong faction of young men of great birth, and of the greatest fortunes, and by many dependants, ingaged by the booty they had gained under him in the wars. Elevated with these advantages, he exulted, became conspicuous, and arrived to the greatest degree of

¹⁵ Εξ αρχης. I should rather read ἀναβλεψαι ἐξ αρχης; which two synonymous adverbs have the same sense with ἐξ αρχης, adverbially, for παλιν, to which it is, often, joined by Aristophanes: As he says in Plutus; εἰ παλιν together a few lines before.

^cψ. 867.

splendor.

splendor. But all this could not preserve him from a fatal catastrophe : For the senate being assembled upon this occasion, and the elder senators having, according to custom, first delivered their opinions, of whom there were not many, who, openly, declared against the people, when it came to the turn of the younger senators to speak, Marcius asked leave of the consuls to say what he thought proper ; and, meeting with great encouragement, and attention, he made the following invective against the people.

XXII. “ Fathers, I am confident that almost all of you,
 “ when you consider the advantages, which the people gained
 “ by the accommodation, are sensible that they did not revolt
 “ through necessity, and want, but were induced to it by
 “ the unjustifiable hope of destroying your aristocracy, and
 “ of making themselves masters of the commonwealth :
 “ Since they were not satisfied with abolishing the faith of
 “ contracts, and the laws made to secure that faith, without
 “ carrying their views any farther ; but they introduced a
 “ new magistracy with a design to subvert That of the con-
 “ suls, which magistracy they made sacred and inviolable
 “ by law ; and have now, unobserved by you, fathers, ac-
 “ quired a tyrannical power by the law, lately, enacted : For,
 “ when the leaders of the people, deriving, from the great
 “ power they are invested with, the specious pretence of
 “ relieving the plebeians, when oppressed, ¹⁶ ruin, and destroy

¹⁶. Ἀγῶσι καὶ Φερώσι. This military expression is, sometimes, applied to civil affairs, as we find it here. The Romans, who enriched their language with many Greek turns, transplanted this, also, into their own soil. An in-

stance of which we see in Cicero's letter to Octavius, which, if not genuine, contains, at least, many of his expressions ; there we find, *eum agere, rapere rempublicam, cui nulla virtus, nullae bello subactae et ad imperium adjunctae provinciae.*

“ whom they please by virtue of that power, and that no
“ man, whether a private person, or a magistrate, dares
“ oppose their violence for fear of this law, which, at once,
“ destroys the liberty both of your words and actions, by
“ imposing the punishment of death on all those, who speak
“ the language of freemen, what other name ought to be
“ given by all men of sense to this domination, but That,
“ which is the true one, and which you will all own to be
“ so, a tyranny? And, what is the difference whether we
“ suffer the tyranny of one man, or of a whole people?
“ For the effect of both is the same. The best thing,
“ therefore, we could have done was, not to have suffered,
“ even, the seed of this power to have been sown, but rather
“ to have undergone every thing, as Appius, the best of
“ men, who foresaw these mischiefs from afar, advised:
“ But, since that was not done, we ought, now at least,
“ unanimously to pluck it up by the roots, and cast it out
“ of the city, while it is yet weak, and easy to be destroyed.
“ Neither shall we be the first, or the only persons, to
“ whom the same thing has happened; but many, and
“ frequent have been the instances of men, who, being re-
“ duced, by involuntary necessity, to commit errors in things
“ of the greatest consequence, though unable to give a check
“ to evils in their infancy, have endeavoured to prevent
“ their growth: And the repentance of those, who begin
“ late to grow wise, though inferior to foresight, yet, when
“ seen in another light, appears not less valuable in effacing
“ an original error, by preventing its consequences.

XXIII. “ But, if any of you look upon the actions of
 “ the people to be outrageous, and that they ought to be
 “ hindered from running into farther excesses, but are afraid
 “ lest they should seem first to violate the agreement, and
 “ transgress their oaths, let them know that they are not
 “ the aggressors, when they repel an injury, nor violate the
 “ agreement in doing this, but chastise the violaters of it;
 “ and that they will be guiltless in respect to the gods, and
 “ act with justice, while they consult their own interest.
 “ And let this be a strong argument to convince you, that
 “ not yourselves, but the plebeians first began to violate the
 “ agreement, and the treaty, by not observing the condi-
 “ tions, upon which they obtained their return: For they
 “ desired the tribunitian power, not to oppress the senate,
 “ but to secure themselves from their oppression: And they,
 “ no longer, employ this power in the things they ought,
 “ or within the terms they obtained it, but to the corrup-
 “ tion, and confusion of the established government. You
 “ remember the late assembly of the people, and the ha-
 “ rangues there made by their demagogues; what arrogance
 “ and indecency they shewed; and, now, how these dan-
 “ gerous men are elated, since they have discovered that
 “ the whole strength of the commonwealth consists in votes,
 “ of which, as the people exceed us in numbers, they are
 “ sure to have a majority. What, therefore, remains for us
 “ to do, since they have begun to violate the treaty, and
 “ the law, but to repel the attacks of the aggressors, justly
 “ to deprive them of what they are, now, unjustly, possessed

“ of, and put a stop to their ambitious views for the
“ future? While we return thanks to the gods, for not
“ having suffered them, when they had gained an uncon-
“ stitutional advantage, to act, after that, with modesty, but
“ for having inspired them with this impudence, and these
“ various aims, by which you are reduced to a necessity of
“ endeavouring both to recover the rights you have lost,
“ and to preserve Those, that remain, with all the care they
“ deserve.

XXIV. “ The present opportunity is, of all others, the
“ most favourable, if, now at least, you will begin to grow
“ wise, when the greatest part of the people are reduced to
“ the utmost extremity by the famine, and the rest cannot,
“ long, hold out through the want of money, if corn is
“ scarce, and they are forced to give a great price for it;
“ by which means, the most profligate, and those, who were
“ never pleased with the aristocracy, will be forced to leave
“ the city, and the more modest, to behave themselves with
“ decency, without giving you any farther trouble. Place a
“ guard, therefore, upon the corn, and abate nothing of the
“ price; but pass an order that it shall, now, be sold at as
“ high a price, as ever; for which you have just reasons,
“ and plausible pretences, such as the ungrateful clamor of
“ the people, as if the scarcity of corn was contrived by you,
“ when it was occasioned by their own revolt, and the de-
“ solation of the country, which they ravaged with the same
“ fierceness, as if it had belonged to an enemy; to which
“ may be added the money, paid out of the treasury to the
“ persons

“ persons sent to purchase corn ; and many other instances,
 “ in which you have been wronged by them : By this means
 “ also, we shall know at last, what grievous punishment it
 “ is they design to inflict upon us, if we refuse to gratify
 “ the people in every thing, as their demagogues threatened,
 “ in order to frighten us. But, if you let slip this opportu-
 “ nity also, you will, often, wish for such another. And, if
 “ the people hear that you desired to subvert their authority,
 “ but desisted through fear, they will bear much harder
 “ upon you, and look upon that desire to proceed from
 “ enmity, and your want of courage from your want of
 “ power.”

XXV. After this speech of Marcius, the opinions of the
 senators were divided ; and a great tumult arose among
 them : For those, who, from the beginning, had opposed
 the plebeians, and submitted to the accommodation against
 their will, among whom were almost all the youth, and the
 richest, and most ambitious of the elder senators, who
 repented the impudence of the people, some from the loss
 they had sustained in their contracts, and others, from being
 rejected when they sued for honors, applauded Marcius, as
 a man of spirit, and a lover of his country, whose advice
 was of the greatest advantage to the commonwealth. On
 the other side, the senators of popular principles, who set
 no greater value on ¹⁷ honors, and riches, than they deserved,

¹⁷· Καὶ τὴν τιμὴν. These words I have
 taken the liberty to substitute in the
 room of τὸν τρόπον, which Sylburgius
 saw could not have a place here ; for

which reason, he changed it to κροῖον,
 meaning the applause of the senate.
 Casaubon would read καὶ τὸν τρόπον, and
 connect these words with τὰς προαίρετας.
 and

and looked upon nothing to be more necessary than peace, were offended at his speech, and rejected his advice : These desired they would not think of overcoming their inferiors by violence, but by humanity ; and that they would not esteem moderation, as unbecoming, but necessary ; particularly, when exerted towards their fellow-citizens from a principle of benevolence : And they shewed that his advice was madness, not freedom of speech, nor liberty. But these were few ; and, being unsupported, were overborne by the violence of the others. The tribunes, seeing this (for they were present in the senate, being called in by the consuls) cried out, and were in a great agitation, calling Marcius the pest, and bane of his country, for having uttered malicious words against the people ; and, unless the patricians prevented his design of kindling a civil war in the city, by punishing him either with death, or banishment, they threatened to do it themselves. These words of the tribunes having encreased the tumult, particularly on the part of the younger senators, who bore their threats with impatience, Marcius, animated by their resentment, now attacked the tribunes with greater arrogance, and boldness, saying to them ;
 “ If you do not cease to disturb the commonwealth, and
 “ to inflame the poor by your harangues, I shall, no longer,
 “ oppose you with words, but with actions.”

I can approve of neither of these alterations. The reason, that induced me to read *την τιμην*, is this ; our author has told us that *οι πλεσιωλῆτοι, και φιλοτιμοτατοι* applauded Marcius : Will it not,

then, be a very natural antithesis, if we say that *οι την τιμην και τον πλεστον & περα τς δεοντος εκλειμηκοτες* rejected his advice ?

XXVI. The senate being, now, in a flame, and the tribunes, finding that those, who desired to take away the power granted to the people, were superior in number to the senators, who advised to adhere to the agreement, ran out of the senate, crying out, and calling upon the gods, who were witnesses to their oaths: After which, they assembled the people; and, having acquainted them with the speech made by Marcius in the senate, they summoned him to make his defence. But he, paying no regard to them, and repulsing the officers, by whom he was summoned, with abusive words, the tribunes grew the more enraged; and, taking with them the ediles, and many other citizens, ran to seize him. Marcius happened to be, yet, standing before the senate house, attended by a great number of the patricians, and by the rest of his faction. When the tribunes saw him, they ordered the ediles to apprehend him; and, if he refused to follow them, to bring him away by force. The ediles, at that time, were Lucius Junius Brutus, and Spurius Icilius Ruga: These advanced with a design to seize him. On the other side, the patricians, looking upon it as an insufferable thing, that any one of their body should be, forcibly, carried away by the tribunes, before he was tried, placed themselves before Marcius; and, striking all, who approached him, drove them away. The news of this action being spread through the whole city, all ran out of their houses; the magistrates, and the men of fortune, with a design to assist the plebeians in protecting Marcius, and to recover the ancient form of government; and those of low
con-

condition, and narrow circumstances, with a view to assist the tribunes, and to obey their orders; and that modesty, which had, hitherto, withheld them from daring to commit any excesses against one another, was, then, banished: However, their contest did not, that day, break out into any irreparable mischief; but, in deference to the advice, and exhortations of the consuls, they deferred the decision of it to the day after.

XXVII. The next day, the tribunes came first to the forum; and, assembling the people, they, successively, made many invectives against the patricians, as against men, who had violated their treaties, and transgressed the oaths, by which they had promised the people to forget all, that was passed; and, to shew that they were not, sincerely, reconciled to the plebeians, they alledged the scarcity of corn, which they had contrived, the two colonies they had sent out, and many other things they had practised with a view to lessen the number of the people: After that, they inveighed, violently, against Marcius, repeating the words he had spoken in the senate, and told them that, when he was summoned to make his defence before the people, he had, not only, not vouchsafed to come, but had, also, with blows, driven away the ediles, who were sent to him. They called upon the senators of the greatest dignity to give their testimony of what passed in the senate; and, to prove the insult offered to the ediles, upon all the plebeians, who were, then, present in the forum. Having said this, they gave leave to the patricians to make their defence, if they thought proper; and, for that purpose, kept the people together,
till

till the senate should be dismissed : For it happened that the senate were, at that time, consulting upon this very affair, and considering whether they should clear themselves to the people of the crimes they were accused of, or remain quiet : And the majority inclining to humane, rather than to imperious, measures, the consuls dismissed the senate, and came to the forum, with a design both to justify the patricians in regard to the accusations brought against their whole order, and to intreat the people not to come to any severe resolution against Marcius : And Minucius, the senior consul, spoke in the following manner :

XXVIII. “ Our defence, in relation to the scarcity of
 “ corn, is very short, citizens, and we shall call no other
 “ witnesses to prove the truth of what we alledge, than
 “ yourselves : For, even, you yourselves know that the land
 “ bore no corn, because it was not sown ; and you have
 “ no occasion to be informed by others, from what cause
 “ the several devastations of the country have proceeded,
 “ and by what means, at last, the greatest, and most fruitful
 “ part of the land came to want all sorts of grain, slaves,
 “ and cattle ; partly, because it was laid waste by the enemy,
 “ and partly, because it is incapable of supplying you, who
 “ are so numerous, and have no other resource : So that,
 “ concluding the famine was not occasioned by what your
 “ demagogues charge us with, but by what you yourselves
 “ are sensible of, cease to attribute this misfortune to our
 “ contrivance, and to be angry with us, when we do you
 “ no injury. As to the colonies, there was a necessity for

“ sending them out, since it was the unanimous opinion of
“ you all to garrison places, that will be of use in time of war :
“ And, being sent, when the occasion was so very urging,
“ they have proved of great advantage both to those, who
“ went out, and to you, who remain at home : For the
“ former will, by this means, enjoy there a greater plenty of
“ all necessaries, and those, who remain here, will suffer the
“ less from the scarcity of provisions. And the equality of
“ fortune, to which we patricians submitted like you, in
“ sending out the colony by lot, deserves no censure.

XXIX. “ What, therefore, can provoke the demagogues
“ to find fault with us for those things, in which both our
“ opinions, and our fortunes are the same, whether they are
“ hurtful, as they say, or advantageous, as we think : As to
“ the accusations, with which they charge us, in relation to
“ what passed in the last assembly of the senate, that we did
“ not think fit to moderate the price of corn ; that we were
“ forming designs to abolish the tribunitian power ; that
“ we, still, resented your secession, and were desirous, by
“ every method, to distress the plebeians ; these, and all
“ such accusations we shall, soon, clear ourselves of by our
“ actions ; by hurting you in no degree ; by confirming, even
“ now, the tribunitian power upon the same terms we, then,
“ granted it to you, and by selling the corn at the price you
“ shall all of you appoint. Have patience therefore ; and,
“ if all these things are not performed, then accuse us. But,
“ if you will, carefully, examine our contests, you will find
“ that we patricians have greater reason to accuse the people,
“ than

“ than you to complain of the senate : For you wrong us,
 “ citizens ; and be not offended at being told of it ; since,
 “ without waiting the event of our counsels, you think fit to
 “ find fault with them already. But, who knows not that
 “ it is the easiest of all things for a man to confound, and
 “ banish harmony from a city, by charging others with de-
 “ signs, of which the proof being in suspense, and not yet
 “ manifest, is no guard to the accused against suffering some
 “ prejudice, but rather a pretence to the accuser to justify
 “ his accusation ? And, not only, your leaders deserve censure
 “ for accusing, and calumniating the senate, but you your-
 “ selves deserve it no less for giving credit to them, and
 “ resenting injuries, before you feel them : For, if the in-
 “ juries you were afraid of were future, your resentment
 “ ought to have been future also : Whereas, it, now, ap-
 “ pears that you have acted with greater haste, than prudence,
 “ and placed your safety in your malice.

XXX. “ Concerning the crimes, with which the tri-
 “ bunes have charged the senate in general, I think what I
 “ have said sufficient. But, since they calumniate every one
 “ of us, in particular, for what we said there, and com-
 “ plain that we divide the city, and are, now, endeavour-
 “ ing to put to death, or banish, Caius Marcius, a man,
 “ who loves his country, and who spoke of the public affairs
 “ with freedom, I design to treat this subject, also, with all
 “ the regard, that is due to justice ; and do you consider
 “ if what I shall say is founded on moderation, and truth.
 “ When you were treating of your reconciliation with the

“ senate, citizens, you thought it enough for you to be dis-
“ charged of your debts ; and you desired leave to chuse ma-
“ gistrates out of your own body, to protect the poor from
“ oppression : Both these things you obtained, for which you
“ thought yourselves under great obligations to us : But, to
“ abolish the consular power, to render ineffectual the authority
“ of the senate in presiding over the commonwealth, or to sub-
“ vert the established government, you neither, then, desired,
“ nor will you, ever, desire : What, therefore, provokes you
“ to attempt, now, to confound all these things ? Or, by
“ what right do you seek to deprive us of our honors ?
“ For, if you deter the senators from speaking their senti-
“ ments with freedom, what moderation is to be expected
“ from the language of your leaders ? Or, by what law, will
“ they pretend to punish any of the patricians with death,
“ or banishment ? For, neither the old laws, nor the agree-
“ ments, lately, made with the senate, give you this power.
“ But, to transgress the bounds prescribed by the laws, and
“ to render violence superior to justice, is, no longer, popu-
“ lar, but, if you desire to hear the truth, tyrannical. For
“ my part, I should advise you neither to give up any one
“ of the advantages you have obtained from the senate, nor
“ to claim any you did not desire, when you were treating
“ of a reconciliation with them.

XXXI. “ But, in order to make it still, more plainly,
“ appear to you that your demagogues desire a thing incon-
“ sistent both with moderation, and justice, and that their
“ aims are illegal and impracticable, transfer this question
“ from

“ from the senate to yourselves, and consider it in this light :
“ Imagine the senators accused your magistrates of using,
“ in your assembly, malicious expressions against the senate,
“ of endeavouring to subvert the established aristocracy,
“ and of raising a sedition in the city (all which they may
“ assert with truth, for they are guilty of these things) and,
“ which is the most heinous crime of all, that they aim at
“ a greater power, than was granted to them, in attempting
“ to put one of our order to death without a trial : And,
“ then, imagine the senate resolved that the persons, guilty
“ of these crimes, should be put to death with impunity :
“ How would you bear this arrogance of the senate ? And
“ what would you say ? Would you not be out of patience,
“ and complain you were, severely, treated, if any one should
“ deprive you of the freedom of speech, and of your liberty,
“ by threatening with the severest punishment those, who
“ spoke, freely, in favor of the people ? This you must
“ grant. And, do you think it reasonable that others should
“ bear what you yourselves would not submit to ? Do these
“ sentiments of yours become citizens, and flow from mo-
“ deration ? Do you not, by insisting on such things, justify
“ the accusations you are charged with, and shew that those,
“ who advise us not to suffer your lawless domination to
“ gain new strength, consult the good of the common-
“ wealth ? For my part, I think so. But, if you desire to
“ confute these accusations by a contrary behaviour, follow
“ my advice, moderate your sentiments, and bear the speech,
“ with which you are offended, like citizens, and with
“ temper.

“ temper. And, if you do this, you will gain a double ad-
“ vantage ; you will appear good men, and your enemies
“ will repent.

XXXII. “ Having, now, justified ourselves in a convincing
“ manner, as we think, we advise you to run into no excess ;
“ we have no design to reproach you with the benefits,
“ and favors, we have conferred on you, as well formerly,
“ as at your return, but only to moderate your anger ;
“ which benefits we are willing to forget, but you ought to
“ remember. However, we are under a necessity of men-
“ tioning them at this time, when we desire that, in return
“ for the many great favors we have bestowed upon you at
“ your request, you will grant us this, neither to put to
“ death, nor banish a man, who loves his country, and
“ excels all others in the art of war : For it will be no small
“ loss to us, as you well know, citizens, if we deprive the
“ commonwealth of such valor. You ought, therefore,
“ particularly on his account, to relent, when you call to
“ mind how many of you he has saved in the wars ; and,
“ instead of retaining any resentment for his unguarded
“ words, to remember his glorious actions : For his words
“ have done you no mischief ; but his actions have done you
“ great service : However, if you are irreconcilable to this
“ man, at the intercession of us at least, and of the senate,
“ forgive him ; be, at last, sincerely reconciled to us, and
“ restore unanimity to the commonwealth : Whereas, if
“ you yield not to our persuasions, be assured that, on our
“ part, we shall not yield to your violence ; but this trial of
“ the

“ the people’s affection will prove to all the source either of
 “ a sincere friendship, and of still greater kindness, or of civil
 “ war, and irreparable evils.”

XXXIII. After Minucius had spoken in this manner, the tribunes, seeing the people moved with the moderation of his speech, and the humanity of his promises, were offended, and displeased; particularly, Caius Sicinnius Bellutus, the same person, who had prevailed upon the poor to secede from the patricians, and been appointed by them to be their general, while they were in arms; a man, the most inveterate against the aristocracy, and, for that reason, raised by the citizens to dignity; and, being invested with the tribunitian power for the second time, he, least of all the demagogues, thought it his interest that the commonwealth should be united, and restored to its former state: For he was so far from expecting to enjoy the same honors, and power under an aristocracy, as he was a bad man in his nature, obscurely educated, and had, never, distinguished himself either in war, or in peace, that he knew he should, even, be exposed to the greatest danger for having occasioned the sedition, and many other evils to the commonwealth. After he had considered, therefore, what he was to say, and do, and consulted with his colleagues, and they concurred with him, he rose up; and, having, shortly, lamented the misfortunes of the people, he commended the consuls for vouchsafing to give them an account of their actions, without despising their low condition; and, likewise, said he returned thanks to the patricians for taking some care, at last, of the preservation
 of

of the poor ; and that he should, still more willingly, join with all his fellow-citizens in publishing this, if they would confirm their words by their actions.

XXXIV. Having said this, and thereby seemed moderate in his ¹⁸ disposition, and inclining to an accommodation, he turned to Marcius, who stood near the consuls, and said ;
 “ And you, valiant man, why do you not clear yourself to
 “ your fellow-citizens, of what you said in the senate ?
 “ Rather, why do you not make supplication to them, and
 “ deprecate their anger, to the end they may punish you
 “ with less rigor ? For I would not advise you to deny the
 “ fact, as so many are acquainted with it, or to have re-
 “ course to shameless apologies, as you are Marcius, and
 “ have a spirit above That of a private man : Unless you
 “ think that it becomes the consuls, and the patricians, to
 “ intercede for you to the people, but that it does not be-
 “ come you to do the same thing for yourself.” This he
 said, well knowing that a man of his great spirit would never submit to be his own accuser, and to deprecate his punishment, as if he had transgressed ; or, contrary to his character, have recourse to lamentations, and intreaties ; but, that he would either not vouchsafe to make any defence at all, or, preserving his inbred haughtiness, make no submissions to the people, nor speak to them with moderation : Which happened accordingly : For there being a general silence, and almost all the plebeians, earnestly, desiring to acquit him,

¹⁸. Οἰσῆν. See the thirteenth annotation on this book. M. * * * has, again, mistaken the sense of this word, and said, *plus modéré dans sa colère*.

if he had availed himself of the present opportunity, he spoke to them in so haughty a manner, and shewed so great a contempt of them, that he did not deny a single thing he had said in the senate against the people; nor, as if he had repented of what he had said, endeavour to raise their compassion, or deprecate their anger. He would not, even, allow them to be his judges in any case, as having no lawful authority: But, if any one thought fit to accuse him before the consuls, or to require an account either of his words, or his actions in a place appointed by law, he was ready to submit to his trial. He said that he presented himself to the people, since they themselves had summoned him, with a design, not only, to reprimand them for the illegal proceedings, and excesses they had been guilty of, as well during their revolt, as after their return; but, also, to advise them, now at least, to put a stop to, and restrain, their unwarrantable desires. After which, he inveighed against them all with great severity, and boldness; and, particularly, against the tribunes. In his speech, there was no prudent respect, becoming a citizen, who informs the people; no modest fear, opposing itself to the resentment of the powerful, such as might be expected from a private person under a general displeasure; but the ungovernable fury of an enemy, insulting the subdued with impunity, and a severe contempt of their sufferings.

XXXV. For these reasons, while he was yet speaking, there arose a great tumult, the people, frequently, changing their opinion, as it happens in assemblies of different

sentiments, and different inclinations; some being pleased with his speech, and others offended at it. And, when he had done speaking, the clamor, and tumult encreased: For the patricians, calling him the bravest of men, commended him for his liberty of speech, and said he was the only free man of their whole number, who neither feared the attacks of a numerous enemy, nor flattered the insolent, and illegal attempts of his fellow-citizens. On the other side, the plebeians, impatient of his reproaches, called him haughty and severe, and the greatest of all their enemies: And some of them were, already, disposed to have put him to death by an act of violence, which they could, easily, have accomplished. In this they were assisted, and abetted by the demagogues; and Sicinnius, in particular, gave a loose to their passion. At last, therefore, after he had used many invectives against him, and inflamed the minds of the plebeians by ministring, largely, to their fury, he closed his accusation with saying, “ That the college of the tribunes
“ condemned him to death for insulting the ediles, whom
“ he had, the day before, driven away with blows, when
“ they were ordered by the tribunes to bring him before
“ them: For they alledged that the insult, committed by
“ him against their ministers, could be levelled at no
“ other persons, but at those, who had given those
“ orders.” Having said this, he commanded him to be carried to the hill, that overlooks the forum: This is an exceeding high precipice, from whence they used to throw down those, who were condemned to die. The ediles,
there-

therefore, advanced in order to lay hold of him; but the patricians, crying out with a loud voice, rushed upon them in a body: Upon which, the plebeians fell upon the patricians; and great indecency of action, and mutual insults passed between them, both sides pushing, and laying hold of one another. However, the authors of this tumult were compelled to be quiet, and to act with more temper by the consuls, who forced their way into the midst of the contending parties, and ordered their lictors to quell the multitude: So great a respect did the men of those times bear to this magistracy, and so much did they honour the royal dignity. Upon which, Sicinnius, being perplexed, and disturbed, was afraid of obliging his adversaries to repel force with force; but disdained to desist from his attempt, after he had, once, engaged in it; and, finding himself unable to pursue his resolution, he considered, long, what he had to do.

XXXVI. Lucius Junius Brutus, that popular orator, who had contrived the terms of the accommodation, a man of great sagacity in every thing, but, particularly, in finding expedients in difficulties, seeing him in this perplexity, came to him; and, taking him aside, advised him not to persist in a warm, and illegal undertaking, when he saw, not only, the whole body of the patricians in a flame, and ready, if the consuls called upon them, to run to arms, but, also, that part of the people, which was most able to defend their cause, hesitating, and not, willingly, receiving his proposal to put the most illustrious person of the city to death, and that without

a trial. He, therefore, advised him to yield for the present, and not to engage with the consuls, lest he should be the cause of some greater mischief; but to bring the man to a trial upon a day appointed; to take the votes of the citizens in their tribes, and to act pursuant to the determination of the majority; saying that his present attempt was tyrannical and violent, tending to constitute the same person both his accuser, and judge, and, also, the ordainer of the degree of his punishment: But that it was agreeable to the spirit of all civil government, that a criminal should have liberty to make his defence according to the laws, and suffer such punishment as the majority of his judges should determine. Sicinnius yielded to these arguments, finding he could take no better resolution; and, presenting himself to the people, said, “ You see, citizens, the eagerness of the patricians for
“ murder, and violence, which induces them to prefer one
“ man, who wrongs the whole commonwealth, to you all.
“ However, we ought not to resemble them, and run head-
“ long to our ruin, either in attacking them, or in defend-
“ ing ourselves from their attacks. But, since some people
“ make use of a specious pretence, and screen him from
“ punishment by supporting the law, which allows no
“ citizen to be put to death without a trial, let us grant
“ them the benefit of this law, though we ourselves have
“ not been treated by them either in a legal, or just manner;
“ and make it appear that we chuse to overcome our fellow-
“ citizens, who injure us, in lenity, rather than in violence.
“ Do you, therefore, depart, and wait for the approaching
“ time.

“ time. In the mean while, we will prepare every thing
 “ that is necessary; and, having appointed a day for Marcius
 “ to make his defence, we will manage the trial, and you
 “ shall be his judges. And, when you are, legally, possessed
 “ of the right of giving your votes, inflict such punishment
 “ on him, as you shall find he deserves. So much for this.
 “ As to the sale, and distribution of the corn, if these men,
 “ and the senate do not take some care that this affair be
 “ ordered in the most equitable manner, we shall take That
 “ care upon ourselves.” Having said this, he dismissed the
 assembly.

XXXVII. The consuls, presently, assembled the senate, and considered with them, at leisure, by what means the present disturbance might be appeased: And the first resolution they came to, was to court the plebeians, by selling the provisions to them at a very cheap, and low price: In the next place, to endeavour to prevail upon their leaders to desist from their purpose in favor of the senate, and not to bring Marcius to his trial; and, if they could not prevail, to put it off to the longest time possible, till the resentment of the people should grow languid. Having come to these resolutions, they laid their decree, relating to the provisions, before the people, by whom it was confirmed with a general applause. This was the substance of the decree: “ That
 “ the prices of such provisions, as are necessary for the daily
 “ support of the people, be the lowest they were, ever,
 “ at before the civil commotion.” As to their application to the tribunes in favor of Marcius, the effect of it was this:
 They

They could not, by any intreaties, prevail upon them to remit him absolutely: However, they obtained of them a delay for as long a time as they desired. And they themselves contrived another delay, by laying hold on the following occasion: It happened that the embassadors, sent from Sicily by the king, as they were returning home by sea after landing the present of corn he had given to the people, were taken by some pirates, sent out by the Antiates, while they lay at anchor not far from their ports, who ordered their ships to be brought in; and, not only, made the same advantage of their effects, as if they had belonged to an enemy, but, also, secured their persons. The consuls, being informed of this, resolved to march against the Antiates; since, upon sending embassadors to them, they refused to do them any sort of justice: And, having raised an army consisting of all their youth, and procured a decree of the senate for the suspension of all private, and public suits, as long as they should continue in arms, they both took the field. However, this war did not last near so long, as they expected: For the Antiates, hearing the Romans were marching against them with all their forces, made not the least resistance; but, having recourse to prayers, and intreaties, they restored both the persons of the Sicilian embassadors, whom they had taken, and their effects also: So that, the Romans were under a necessity of returning to the city.

XXXVIII. The army being disbanded, Sicinnius, the tribune, assembled the people, and acquainted them with the day he had appointed for the trial of Marcius; at the same time,

time, he exhorted the citizens, who lived at Rome, to come every one, and take cognizance of this cause; and those also, who resided in the country, to leave their business, and attend that day, since their liberty, and the preservation of the whole commonwealth depended upon their votes. He summoned Marcius, also, to appear, and make his defence, assuring him that he should be deprived of no advantage the law allowed him. In the mean time, the consuls, after they had consulted the senate, resolved not to suffer the people to possess themselves of so great a power. They had found out a just, and legal method of opposition, by which they expected to defeat all the designs of their adversaries. After this, they invited the leaders of the people to a conference, at which their friends assisted, when Minucius spoke as follows: “It is our opinion, tribunes, “that we ought to use all our endeavours to banish sedition “from the city, and not to contend with the people in any “thing; particularly, when we see you fly from violent “methods, to Those, that are founded on justice, and rea- “son. But, however commendable we think your resolu- “tions, we are of opinion that the senate ought to lead the “way by making a previous order, as it has, always, been “practised among us: For, you yourselves can testify that, “from the time our ancestors founded this city, the senate “have, always, been possessed of this privilege, and ¹⁹ that the

¹⁹. Καὶ ἔθεν πωπότε ὁ δῆμος ὁ τι μὴ to contradict what our ^f author has, προέβλευσεν ἢ βεβλή, ἔτε επικρίνεν, ἔτε before, told us, viz. that the resolu- επεψηφισεν. This seems, at first sight, tions of the people were, originally,

^fB. ii. c. 14.

“ people

“ people never determined, nor voted any thing without a
 “ previous order of the senate, not only now, but, even,
 “ under the kings, who laid before the people the resolu-
 “ tions of the senate, and received their concurrence. Do
 “ not, therefore, deprive us of this right, nor abolish this

laid before the senate for their approbation. In order to reconcile these two assertions, I shall not have recourse to a grammatical criticism upon the words *επεκρίνεν*, and *επεψηφισεν*, which, in reality, signify a confirmatory judgement: For this would be to get over the difficulty by making our author talk nonsense; since, if a previous order of the senate was not passed, it would be impossible for the people to confirm that order. The only way I can think of to solve the difficulty is this: I look upon it that the people, in their *curiata*, and *centuriata comitia*, could not take cognizance of any thing, till it was laid before them by the magistrates, as the consuls, or the tribunes of the people, after their institution: Neither could the magistrates lay any thing, regularly, before the people, without a previous order of the senate, signified by these words, *ferrent ad plebem*. This previous order I take to be what the Greek writers call *προβουλευμα*, which was not so much a declaration of the sense of the senate upon the question, as an empowering the people to take cognizance of it: And, after the people had declared their approbation of the matter proposed to them, their resolution was carried up to the senate for their concurrence; which I think

they might, legally, refuse, if they thought fit: My reason for it is, that, in the year of Rome 388, the senate, and people, after a great contest, entered into a kind of compromise, the terms of which were, that two curule ediles should be chosen among the former, and that, in return, the senate should confirm all the resolutions the people should, that year, pass in their *comitia*: For so I understand these words of ^s Livy, *Patres auctores omnibus ejus anni comitiis fierent*: And that they are to be taken in this sense, I think, ^h I have, already, proved. If, therefore, the senate, in consideration of an advantage to themselves, agreed to ratify all the resolutions of the people for that year, it is plain they had a power of rejecting them before that time, and after the expiration of it. However, this negative voice of the senate was subject to restrictions; and the people had, constitutionally, a sovereign power in three very essential ⁱ points, in which the senate could not controul them: These were the election of magistrates, the enacting, or repealing laws, and the declaring war, or making peace. Upon these occasions, they spoke with an authority, that became their sovereign power; *Volumus, et jubemus*.

^f B. vi. c. 42.

^h See the 122^d annotation on the second book.

ⁱ Dionysius, B. iv. c. 20.

“ ancient,

“ ancient, and well grounded custom; but inform the
 “ senate that you desire a just, and reasonable thing; and,
 “ whatever they shall resolve upon, do you refer That to
 “ the determination of the people.”

XXXIX. While the consuls were saying this, Sicinnius grew impatient at their discourse, and would leave nothing to the decision of the senate: But his colleagues, pursuant to the advice of Lucius, consented that the senate should make the previous order, after they themselves had made a just request, which the consuls could not deny: For they desired that the senators would allow liberty of speech as well to those, who were concerned for the people, as to those, who supported the same interest, or desired to oppose it; and that, after they had heard all parties, they would, then, decree what they thought just and advantageous to the public: That the senators should all give their opinions, as in a court of justice, after taking the oath appointed by law; and the question be determined by a majority of votes. The tribunes having consented that the senate should make the previous order, as the consuls desired, the conference ended. The next day, the senate met, when the consuls acquainted them with the terms of the agreement they had made with the tribunes, and called upon the latter to offer what they had to say. Upon which, Lucius, who had consented that the senate should make the previous order, presented himself, and spoke in the following manner.

XL. “ You are not ignorant, fathers, of the consequence
“ of our application to you, for which, as well as for
“ yielding to your previous order, we shall be accused be-
“ fore the people upon such grounds, as we are no strangers
“ to, by a person, who is possessed of the same power with
“ ourselves; and who did not think that we ought to ask
“ That of you, which the law gives us, or to receive a
“ right, as a favor. And, if we are tried for this, we are
“ sensible we shall run no small hazard, but be condemned
“ as deserters, and traitors, and suffer the worst of punish-
“ ments. But, though sensible of these things, we have re-
“ solved to apply to you, in confidence of our right, and of
“ the oaths, under the obligation of which you will deliver
“ your opinions. We are, indeed, inconsiderable men to
“ treat of such important subjects, and of much less conse-
“ quence than they require; but the subjects we shall treat
“ of, are not inconsiderable. Attend, therefore, to these;
“ and, if they shall appear just and advantageous to the
“ public (and I may add, even, necessary) allow us, volun-
“ tarily, to obtain them.

XLI. “ I shall first speak to the point of right. After
“ you had expelled the kings by our assistance, fathers, and
“ settled our present constitution, which we find no fault
“ with, you observed that the plebeians had, always, the
“ disadvantage in their suits, whenever they had any dif-
“ ference with the patricians, which, frequently, happened;
“ and passed a law, by the advice of Publius Valerius, one of
“ the consuls, by which it was made lawful for the plebeians,
“ when

“ when oppressed by the patricians, to appeal to the people :
 “ And, by the means of this law, more than by any other
 “ measure, you both preserved the union of the common-
 “ wealth, and repulsed the attacks of the kings. It is in virtue
 “ of this law, that we cite Caius Marcius to appear before
 “ the people, on account of the injustice, and oppression we
 “ say he has been guilty of towards them all, and call upon
 “ him to make his defence before them. And, in this case,
 “ a previous order of the senate is not necessary : For, with
 “ regard to those things, which are left at large by the laws,
 “ you have a right to make a previous order, and the people
 “ to confirm it : But, when there is an inviolable law, though
 “ you should make no previous order, that law must be
 “ observed : For it cannot be said that, to private persons,
 “ when aggrieved by any judgement, this appeal to the people
 “ is allowed, but not to their tribunes. Supported, there-
 “ fore, by this concession of the law ; and, for that reason,
 “ exposed to the danger of submitting to your determina-
 “ tion, we come before you. Nor less supported are we by
 “ this unwritten, and unenacted law of nature, when we
 “ request of you, fathers, that the condition of the people
 “ may be neither better, nor worse than your own, at least
 “ in point of right ; since they have assisted you in carrying
 “ on many considerable wars ; have shewn the greatest zeal
 “ in putting an end to those wars, and have had no small
 “ share in enabling the commonwealth to receive laws from
 “ none, but to give laws to others. Now, the most effectual
 “ means you can take, fathers, to put us in no worse a con-

“ dition than yourselves in point of right, will be, to prevent
“ the illegal attempts of men against our persons, and liberties,
“ by placing before their eyes the terror of a condemnation.
“ We look upon it as our duty to confer magistracies, pre-
“ cedence, and honors upon those among you, who are
“ distinguished by their virtue; but, at the same time, we
“ think it reasonable that to suffer no injury, and to receive
“ justice adequate to the wrong sustained, should be equal
“ and common to all those, who live under the same go-
“ vernment. As, therefore, we give up to you the things,
“ that are illustrious and great, so we mean not to depart
“ from Those, that are equal and common. This is enough
“ concerning the point of right, though many other argu-
“ ments might be used to support it.

XLII. “ Suffer us, now, to shew you, in few words, that
“ the demands of the people will be, even, advantageous to
“ the public: For, if any one should ask you what you look
“ upon to be the greatest mischief a commonwealth can
“ labour under, and the cause of the swiftest of all destructions,
“ would you not say it is discord? I own, I think so. Who
“ is there among you, then, so weak, so perverse, and so
“ immoderate an enemy to equality, as not to know, that,
“ if the people are allowed to exercise their jurisdiction in
“ causes, of which the law gives them cognizance, we shall
“ live in harmony? But, if you should determine otherwise,
“ and resolve to deprive us of our liberty (for you will,
“ really, deprive us of liberty, if you deprive us of justice,
“ and law) you will drive us, again, into sedition, and a
“ civil

“ civil war : For, if justice, and law are banished from a
 “ commonwealth, sedition, and war will enter there. It is
 “ no wonder, indeed, if those, who have never experienced
 “ the calamities of a civil war, are neither affected with past
 “ misfortunes, nor take early precautions to prevent the
 “ future : But, to those, who, like you, when exposed to
 “ the smallest dangers, thought themselves happy to find
 “ relief by seasonable concessions, what specious, or reason-
 “ able excuse is left, if they fall, again, under the same mis-
 “ fortunes? Who is there, who would not accuse you of
 “ great folly, and madness, when he considers that, very
 “ lately, you submitted to many things against your incli-
 “ nation, some of which, possibly, were neither very hon-
 “ ourable, nor very advantageous, in order to appease a
 “ sedition of the people ; and now, when neither your
 “ private fortunes, your reputation, nor any other public
 “ interest is, in any degree, concerned, you resolve to ex-
 “ asperate the plebeians again, in order to oblige their
 “ enemies? This you will not do, if you are wise. But I
 “ would, willingly, ask you, what motive, then, induced
 “ you to consent to our return upon the terms we desired :
 “ Were you influenced by your foresight of what was most
 “ eligible, or by your submission to what was most necessary?
 “ For, if you thought those concessions to be of the greatest
 “ advantage to the commonwealth at that time, why do
 “ you not adhere to them at present? And, if they were
 “ necessary, and every other measure impracticable, or if
 “ they flowed from true reasoning directed to the public
 “ good,

“ good, why do you complain of having made them?
“ Possibly you ought not to have granted them, at first, if
“ you could have avoided it ; but, since you have granted
“ them, you ought, no longer, to find fault with your own
“ concessions.

XLIII. “ For my part, fathers, I think you acted with
“ the greatest prudence in regard to the accommodation,
“ to which you are obliged to yield, in order to observe the
“ terms of it : for you have given us the gods as sureties for
“ the performance of the agreement, by loading with many
“ grievous imprecations both those, who should violate any
“ part of it, and their posterity for ever. But I do not
“ think it necessary to trouble you with saying any more in
“ order to convince you that our demands are just in them-
“ selves, and advantageous to you ; and such as, when you
“ consider your oaths, you will all be conscious that you
“ are under the greatest necessity of consenting to. Learn
“ now, fathers, or rather call to mind, the grievous outrages
“ we have suffered from this man, which have made it a
“ point of no small importance to us not to be either com-
“ pelled by fear, or deluded by artifice, to relinquish this
“ contest, which nothing but the greatest necessity could
“ have prevailed upon us to undertake: For I shall advance
“ nothing you are not all acquainted with; and I beg, at
“ the same time, that you will apply what I say to your-
“ selves. If any of our plebians had attempted to say, or
“ do such things against your order in an assembly of the
“ people, as Marcius has dared to advance to this place,
“ what

“ what resentment would you have been fired with against
 “ him?

XLIV. “ For Marcius was the first man among you, who
 “ endeavoured to dissolve the unalterable, and almost ada-
 “ mantine bonds of our agreement, entered into not quite
 “ four years since, which neither you, who swore to the ob-
 “ servance of it, nor your posterity can violate without a
 “ crime, as long as this city shall be inhabited: This agree-
 “ ment he did not seek, privately, to undermine, or cover
 “ his design by the secrecy of the place, but, openly, de-
 “ clared his opinion here, in the hearing of you all, that you
 “ ought, no longer, to allow us the exercise of the tribuni-
 “ tian power, but to abolish the first, and only guardian
 “ of our liberty, in confidence of which we consented to
 “ the accommodation: Neither did his presumption stop
 “ here; but, traducing the liberty of the poor with the
 “ name of insolence, and equality with That of tyranny, he
 “ advised you to deprive us of both. Call to mind, fathers,
 “ the most wicked of all his suggestions at that time, when
 “ he declared this to be the proper season for you to revive
 “ your resentment against the plebeians for their former offen-
 “ ces; and advised you, while they were distressed for want
 “ of money, and had, long, been streightened in their ne-
 “ cessary subsistence, to leave the whole to him, and to
 “ find means that the same scarcity might continue: For
 “ it was not to be expected, he said, that, being poor, and
 “ obliged to pay an excessive price for a small quantity of
 “ corn, we could, long, hold out; but that some of us
 “ would

“ would leave the city, and those who staid, be destroyed
“ by the most miserable of all deaths. But he was so infa-
“ tuated, and deprived of his reason in giving you this ad-
“ vice, as not to be able to see even this, among many other
“ mischiefs, of which the advice he gave the senate to break
“ through the accommodation, was productive, that such a
“ number of poor, when deprived of necessary subsistence,
“ would be compelled to fall upon the authors of their
“ calamity, without distinguishing their friends. So that,
“ if you had been so mad, as to pursue his advice, it must,
“ infallibly, have ended in this alternative, either the
“ whole body of the people must have perished, or That of
“ the patricians been destroyed: For we should not have
“ suffered ourselves to be banished, or put to death in
“ so slavish a manner; but, having called upon the gods,
“ and genius’s to be witnesses to our sufferings, be assured,
“ we should have filled the forum, and the streets with
“ dead bodies; and, having made a lake of civil blood,
“ we should, in that condition, have received our destined
“ fate. Of such impious actions, fathers, was he the pro-
“ moter, and such things did he think fit to make the
“ subject of his harangue.

XLV. “ Neither can it be said that the words of Marcius
“ tended, indeed, to divide the city, but that his actions
“ had no such tendency: For, being surrounded with a
“ body of men, ready to obey him in any thing, he refused
“ to appear before our magistrates, when called upon, and
“ struck our officers, when, by our orders, they endeavoured
“ to

“ to bring him away ; and, at last, did not, even, refrain
 “ from offering violence to our own persons. The conse-
 “ quence of which will be, that, as far as in him lies, we
 “ shall bear the specious name of an inviolable magistracy,
 “ given in ridicule, but perform no part of the functions
 “ appropriated to that magistracy. For how shall we give
 “ relief to others, who complain they are injured, when we
 “ ourselves cannot enjoy security ? When, therefore, we,
 “ who are poor, have been, thus, insulted by one man, not
 “ yet a tyrant, but aiming at tyranny ; when we have, al-
 “ ready, suffered many outrages ; and, if the major part of
 “ you, fathers, had not prevented it, were near suffering
 “ more, have we not reason to resent this, and to expect
 “ some relief, not without the hope of your espousing our
 “ resentment, when we call him to a fair, and legal trial,
 “ fathers, in which the whole body of the people, in their
 “ tribes, after every man, who desires to speak, has been heard,
 “ will give their suffrages on oath ? Go thither, Marcius,
 “ and, what you designed to say here, say it before all your
 “ fellow-citizens, for your justification ; alledge that, with
 “ the best intention, you gave the best advice to these se-
 “ nators ; or that, even, your advice, if followed, would
 “ have been advantageous to the commonwealth ; that it is
 “ inconsistent with justice that those, who deliver their opinions
 “ in this place, should give an account of their words ; that
 “ it was not with a premeditated, or a treacherous design,
 “ but, through passion, that you offered this abominable
 “ advice ; or fly to any other defence you can : Descend,
 VOL. III. F f “ unhappy

“ unhappy man, from that overbearing, and tyrannical
“ haughtiness, to a popular behaviour; become, at last,
“ like other men; assume the appearance of a person, who
“ has erred, and deprecates anger; an appearance calculated
“ to express humility, and excite compassion; such a one,
“ as calamities require; and seek not your preservation by
“ offering violence to those you have injured; but by
“ submitting to their pleasure. Let the conduct of these
“ worthy men be an example of moderation to you, which
“ if you imitate, your fellow-citizens will have no cause to
“ complain of you. Though supported by such numbers,
“ as you see here present, and adorned with so many military,
“ and civil accomplishments, which I could not, easily,
“ enumerate, though I should take up a great deal of
“ time; yet these respectable, these great persons came to
“ no cruel, no haughty resolutions against us, who are in-
“ considerable, and obscure men; but they themselves, even
“ first, proposed a treaty, and invited us to an accommo-
“ dation, when Fortune had divided us; and consented to
“ such conditions, as we desired, not to such, as they thought
“ most advantageous to themselves; and these last jealousies
“ we had entertained against them on account of the distri-
“ bution of corn, they took great pains to remove.

XLVI. “ I omit other things: But, in favor of yourself,
“ and, to deprecate the punishment due to your madness,
“ what intercessions did they not employ with all the ple-
“ beians both in their public, and private capacity? Since
“ the consuls, and the senate, who have the government of
“ so

“ so considerable a city, have thought it no dishonor to
 “ them, Marcius, to submit to the judgement of the people,
 “ in relation to what they were charged with, will it be any
 “ to you to submit to the same tribunal? All these have
 “ thought it no disgrace to intreat the people to acquit you,
 “ and do you think the same thing a disgrace to yourself?
 “ However, this is not enough for a man of your spirit;
 “ but, as if you had performed some great achievement,
 “ you appear with an exalted mien, and magnify your actions,
 “ resolving to abate nothing of your pride; I might add
 “ your reviling also, accusing, and threatening the people.
 “ And, do you not resent his arrogance, fathers, for setting
 “ a greater value upon himself alone, than, even, all of you
 “ set upon yourselves? And yet it is his duty, though you
 “ should be unanimous in your votes to engage in a war for
 “ his sake, to be satisfied with this proof of your benevolence,
 “ and zeal, and not to accept a private favor at the expence
 “ of the public; but to submit to make his defence, even
 “ to be condemned, if that should happen to be his case,
 “ and to suffer any punishment: For such would be the
 “ behaviour of a good citizen, and of one, who practises virtue
 “ in his actions, rather than in his words. But, what course
 “ of life, what designs does the violence, which this man
 “ now makes use of, discover? Does it not discover a design
 “ to violate oaths, to break through solemn engagements,
 “ to abolish treaties, to make war upon the people, to abuse
 “ the persons of magistrates, and to refuse to give an account
 “ of any one of these actions; but, untried, undefended,

“ courting no man, fearing no man, and, disdaining an
 “ equality with any one citizen among so many, to walk
 “ about with impunity? Are not these the indications of a
 “ tyrannical disposition? They are, in my opinion: And
 “ yet this man is encouraged, and applauded by some of
 “ your own order, who are possessed with an implacable
 “ hatred against the plebeians, and cannot see that the birth
 “ of this evil threatens the most dignified citizens, not less
 “ than those of an inferior rank; but imagine that, when
 “ their natural adversaries are enslaved, they themselves shall
 “ be secure: But this is not so in reality, O men of mistaken
 “ notions! For you may learn from the experience Marcius
 “ exhibits to you, and by time, by foreign, and domestic
 “ examples, that tyranny, ²⁰ fostered against the people, is
 “ fostered against the whole commonwealth; at present,
 “ indeed, it begins with us; but, after it has gained strength,
 “ it will not spare even you.”

XLVII. After Lucius had spoken in this manner, and the rest of the tribunes had supported him by adding what

²⁰. *Μοχγευομενη*. I do not think it sufficient to translate this word; I think it, also, necessary to explain it. *Μοχος* signifies *a young plant*; it signifies also *a young boy*, and *the young of every kind*. When Agamemnon is going to set sail from Aulis to Troy, ^k he says to Clytemnestra,

*Χρη δε σε λαβυσαν τονδε ΜΟΣΧΟΝ νεαγενη
 Στεχαιν προς οικου.*

Here *μοχος* signifies his son Orestes, then, very young. If *μοχγευομενη* is

taken in the first sense I have given to *μοχος*, I own I can see no analogy between tyranny, and a young plant; but, if the word is taken in the other sense, the comparison between encouraging tyranny, and nursing up, for example, a lion's whelp, will be very natural. I am the more inclined to think that ^lour author had this in his view, because he makes Brutus say something very like it, when he speaks of Tarquin's sons; *ινα δε μαθιτε ουσ σκυλακας υμιν η Ταρκυνις τυραννις υπολεγει.*

^k Eurip. Iphi. in Aul. *ψ*. 1623. ^l B. iv. c. 81.

they

they thought he had omitted, and it was time for the senators to deliver their opinions, first the most ancient, and the most dignified of the consular senators, being called upon by the consuls in their customary order, rose up ; and, after them, those who were inferior to them in both these respects ; and, last of all, the youngest senators, who made no speech (for that would have been looked upon as a want of modesty in the Romans of those times, and no young man thought himself wiser than those of an advanced age) but assented to the opinions delivered by the consular senators. There had been an order that all the senators present should give their votes upon oath, as in a court of justice. Then Appius Claudius, whom I mentioned before, as the greatest enemy to the plebeians of all the patricians, and who could, never, relish the agreement they had entered into with the people, opposed the passing of the previous order in the following speech.

XLVIII. “ I have wished, and, often, prayed to the gods
 “ that I might be mistaken in the opinion I entertained
 “ concerning the accommodation with the people, when I
 “ thought that the return of the fugitives would be neither
 “ honourable, just, nor advantageous to you ; and, during
 “ the whole course of that transaction, whenever any thing
 “ relating to this subject was proposed to our consideration,
 “ I was the first, and, at last, the only person, after the rest
 “ had deserted me, who opposed it ; and I, also, wished
 “ that you, fathers, who entertained better hopes, and,
 “ cheerfully, came into every concession both just, and
 “ unjust

“ unjust in favor of the people, might appear to have acted
“ with greater prudence than myself. But, since your
“ affairs have taken a turn contrary to my wishes, and
“ prayers, but not contrary to my expectations, and that
“ your favors have been returned with envy, and hatred, I
“ shall forbear to censure you for your past errors, and to
“ give you a fruitless uneasiness (which is a very easy
“ task, and a very common practice) as a thing altogether
“ unseasonable at this juncture : However, I shall endeavour
“ to suggest to you the means of correcting such of your past
“ errors, as are not, absolutely, incurable, and of acting in
“ the affairs, now, before you with greater prudence. I am
“ not ignorant that I shall appear to some of you to have
“ lost my senses, and to court destruction, in delivering my
“ opinion, freely, concerning these things, when I consider
“ how great dangers a liberty of speech is exposed to, and
“ reflect on the calamities of Marcius, who is, this minute,
“ in danger of losing his life for no other reason. But my
“ opinion is, that I ought not to be more anxious for the
“ security of my own person, than for the advantage of the
“ public : For the former has, long since, been dedicated to
“ the perils, that attend your cause, fathers, and devoted to
“ contests in defence of the commonwealth. So that, what-
“ ever Heaven pleases to ordain, I shall suffer it, resolutely,
“ with all of you, or with a few, or, if necessary, alone.
“ But, while I have life, no fear shall deter me from speak-
“ ing what I think.

XLIX. “ In the first place, I desire you will, now at
 “ last, be convinced of this, that the body of the people are
 “ disaffected, and enemies to the present establishment, and
 “ that all the concessions you have, through softness, made to
 “ them are, not only, thrown away, but have exposed you to
 “ contempt, as granted by you through necessity, and not
 “ flowing from good will, and choice : For I desire you to
 “ consider that this people, when, revolting from you, they
 “ took arms, and had the boldness to declare open war
 “ against you, had received no injury, but pretended their
 “ inability to pay their creditors : And, after you had granted
 “ them an abolition of their debts, and an impunity for the
 “ crimes they had committed in their revolt, they declared
 “ they would make no farther demands : Upon which
 “ occasion, ²¹ the greatest part of you, though not all, misled
 “ by these counsellors (which I wish had, never, happened)

²¹. Εἰώσαν οἱ πλείους ὑμῶν. I have followed Casaubon in restoring this passage with the addition of two words to connect it with That, which goes before. This addition Casaubon thinks necessary, though he added nothing himself. I have, therefore, said *τοῖς δὲ* ; which the reader will, I hope, think a sufficient connexion. In this manner, therefore, I would read the passage, and, according to this, I have translated it ; *τοῖς δὲ ἐγνώσαν οἱ πλείους ὑμῶν (καὶ γὰρ δὲ πάντες) παρὰ κρηθέντες ὑποτῶν συμβεβηλῶν (ὡς μὴ ποτε ὠφελόν) ἀκυρώσαι τὰς ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει τιθείας νόμους*. I have, also, added *δε* after *ἤλαπυσσε*, in the next paragraph, which is, visibly, wanting. I shall not repeat any of the authorities made use

of by Casaubon to justify this expression, *ὡς μὴ ποτε ὠφελόν*, because every person, who has read the best Greek authors, particularly the poets, must have met with it frequently. The Latin, and, consequently, the French translators, have made strange work with this period. By supposing, with Gelenius, that *καίπερ* ought to be prefixed to *εἰώσαν*, which Hudson, also, approves of, the former have made our author say that the senate voted an abolition of debts, and an amnesty, notwithstanding the majority were of opinion, *καίπερ οἱ πλείους εἰώσαν*, that neither of them were proper to be enacted.

“ came

“ came to a resolution to abrogate the laws calculated to
“ support public faith, and to grant an amnesty for all the
“ outrages they had been guilty of. However, they were
“ not satisfied with this favor, the obtaining of which alone
“ they said was the aim of their revolt, but, presently,
“ desired another still greater, and more illegal ; they desired
“ leave to be granted them to chuse tribunes out of their
“ own body every year, making our power the pretence of
“ this demand, to the end, truly, that some relief, and refuge
“ might lie open to the poorer citizens, who were injured,
“ and oppressed ; but, in reality, with an insidious design
“ against our constitution, and a view to change it to a
“ democracy. This magistracy, also, the counsellors, I
“ before mentioned, prevailed upon you to introduce into
“ the commonwealth ; the introduction of which must ruin
“ the state, and create envy to the senate in particular ;
“ while I, if you remember, exclaimed against it, and called
“ both gods, and men to witness that you would bring into
“ the commonwealth an everlasting civil war, and foretold
“ every thing, that has, since, befallen you.

L. “ What then did this grateful people do, after you had
“ granted them this magistracy also ? They retained no
“ gratitude for so great a favor, nor received it with respect,
“ and modesty ; but as if they had extorted it from your
“ dread of their power, and from your consternation. After
“ that, they said this magistracy ought to be declared sacred
“ and inviolable, and secured by oaths, desiring that a
“ greater honor might be annexed to it than you yourselves,
“ ever,

“ ever, conferred upon the consuls: This, also, you sub-
 “ mitted to; and, standing by the victims, you cursed both
 “ yourselves, and your posterity, if you violated the oath
 “ you, then, took. What did they do, when they had ob-
 “ tained this also? Instead of acknowledging the favor, and
 “ maintaining the form of government delivered down to
 “ them from their ancestors, they began from these advan-
 “ tages, and made these illegal successes the steps to future
 “ enterprises, and, not only, bring in laws without a pre-
 “ vious order of the senate, but enact them without your
 “ concurrence: They pay no regard to the decrees you
 “ publish, and accuse the consuls of male administration;
 “ and, if, by chance, any thing happens contrary to the
 “ agreement you made with them (as there are many things,
 “ which human reason cannot provide against) they attribute
 “ it not to chance, as I said, but to a premeditated design
 “ in you: And, while they pretend that snares are laid for
 “ them by you, and that they are afraid you should either
 “ deprive them of their liberty, or expel them their country,
 “ they themselves are, continually, forming the same designs
 “ against you; and they, plainly, shew that they guard
 “ against the mischief, they say, they apprehend, by no
 “ other means, than by first inflicting it: This they have,
 “ often, made apparent, even before, and upon many oc-
 “ casions, which I must not mention at present; but, par-
 “ ticularly, by their treatment of Marcius, a lover of his
 “ country, a man of no obscure birth, and who himself is
 “ inferior to none of us in courage; whom they accused of

“ forming designs against them, and of giving evil advice
“ in this place, and attempted to put to death without a
“ trial : And, if the consuls, and those of the best sentiments
“ among you had not assembled in a body, and restrained
“ their illegal attempts, you had been deprived, in one
“ day, of every thing your ancestors acquired for you
“ with many labors, and of every thing you yourselves,
“ after as many contests, are possessed of, your dignity, your
“ sovereignty, and your liberty : While those among you,
“ who had more spirit, and would not have been con-
“ tented with life alone, unless they could have lived to
“ enjoy those advantages, would either then, or, soon after,
“ have lost their lives rather than have been deprived of
“ them : For, if Marcius had been suffered to be seized in
“ so shameful, and dastardly a manner, as in a solitude,
“ what could have hindered me also, after him, and all of
“ you, who ever had opposed, or were like to oppose, the
“ unwarrantable attempts of the people, from being torne
“ in pieces by our enemies ? For they would not have been
“ satisfied with taking off us two only, neither would they,
“ after they had gone so far, have stopped in their career of
“ wickedness, if any conjecture can be formed of their
“ future behaviour by That which is passed ; but, having
“ begun with us, they would have rushed, like a torrent,
“ upon all their adversaries, and upon all those, who did
“ not submit to them, and would have borne them down,
“ and overwhelmed them, without sparing birth, virtue,
“ or age.

LI. “ These, fathers, are the grateful returns, which the
 “ people have, already, made, and, if you had not opposed
 “ them, would have made, for the many signal benefits they
 “ have received from you. Now consider, also, in what man-
 “ ner they behaved themselves, after you had, upon this occa-
 “ sion, acted with so much resolution, and prudence, to the
 “ end you may learn from thence how you ought to treat
 “ them. As soon, therefore, as they found you resolved, no
 “ longer, to bear their insolence, but were prepared to attack
 “ them, they were struck with terror, and soon recovering
 “ themselves, as from a fit of drunkenness, or madness, they
 “ descended from violence, and had recourse to law; and,
 “ appointing a day, they cited Marcius then to appear, and
 “ take his trial, in which they themselves were to be the
 “ accusers, the witnesses, and the judges, and to determine
 “ the degree of the punishment: And, when you opposed
 “ this also, because you thought that he was called upon not
 “ to be tried, but to be punished, the people, who know
 “ they have, upon no occasion, an absolute power, but only
 “ That of ratifying your previous orders by their suffrages,
 “ now abate of the arrogance they were, before, possessed
 “ with, and are come to request that you will grant them
 “ this favor also. Reflect, therefore, upon these things; learn,
 “ at last, and know that all the favors you have, hitherto,
 “ granted them, with greater weakness than prudence, have
 “ brought calamities, and mischiefs upon you; and that every
 “ vigorous opposition you have given to their illegal, and
 “ violent proceedings, has turned to your advantage. What

“ advice, therefore, do I give you now you are sensible of
“ these things? And what opinion do I deliver upon the
“ present question? It is this; that, whatever favors, and
“ concessions you made to the people at the time of your
“ reconciliation, however you came to make those con-
“ cessions, you adhere to them as valid; and violate
“ none of the articles you, then, granted to them; not
“ because they are honourable in themselves, and worthy
“ the dignity of the commonwealth; how should they?
“ But because they are necessary, and without remedy. As
“ to any thing beyond this, which they may endeavour to
“ extort from you against your will by violence, and illegal
“ means, I advise you not to grant, or allow it; but all of
“ you in general, and every one in particular, to oppose
“ them both by your words, and actions: For, if a person
“ has committed one error, either through delusion, or ne-
“ cessity, ought he, for that reason, to act in the like manner
“ in every thing else; on the contrary, he ought to remem-
“ ber that error, and to consider by what means his future
“ conduct may not resemble his former. These are the
“ resolutions I think you ought all of you in general to take;
“ and I advise you to be prepared against the unwarrantable
“ desires of power in the people.

LII. “ That this affair, which is the subject of your
“ present consideration, is, also, of the same cast with their
“ other unjust, and illegal attempts, and not, as the tribune
“ endeavoured to prove in order to deceive you, a just, and
“ reasonable request, let those among you, now, learn, who
“ are

“ are, not yet, convinced of it. The law, therefore, relating
 “ to popular judgements, upon which Lucius laid the greatest
 “ stress, was not enacted against the patricians, but for the
 “ security of such plebeians, as are oppressed, as the law itself,
 “ plainly, shews; the terms of which admit of no doubt :
 “ And you yourselves, who are, perfectly, acquainted with
 “ the sense of this law, with great unanimity, always, declare
 “ it to be so. And this is, clearly, evinced by time, the best
 “ interpreter of every ambiguous law, nineteen years being,
 “ now, passed since this was enacted ; during all which,
 “ Lucius cannot produce one instance of a trial, either
 “ public, or private, attempted against any patrician in virtue
 “ of this law: But, if he will say he can, let him produce it,
 “ and the debate is at an end. As to the late agreement
 “ you entered into with the people, it is necessary you should
 “ be informed of its tenor ; since the tribune has shewn
 “ himself an ill interpreter of it: This agreement compre-
 “ hends these two concessions ; that the plebeians be dis-
 “ charged of their debts, and that this magistracy be, an-
 “ nually, created for the relief of the oppressed, and the
 “ prevention of injustice, and for no other purpose whatever.
 “ But, let the present conduct of the people themselves be
 “ the greatest proof to you that, neither the law before
 “ mentioned, nor the agreement, have given them the power
 “ of trying a patrician : For they ask this power of you now,
 “ as not being, before, intitled to it : And no man would
 “ condescend to receive That from others as a favor, to
 “ which he has a right by law. And how can this, fathers,
 “ be

“ be an unwritten law of nature (for in this light, also,
“ Lucius desired us to consider it) that the people shall try
“ all causes, in which the plebeians are concerned, whether
“ the actions are brought against them by the patricians;
“ or, by them, against the latter : And that the patricians,
“ whether plaintiffs, or defendants in any suit with the
“ plebeians, shall have no power to determine these contests ;
“ but that the advantage, in both cases, be given to the
“ people, and we have no share in either ? If Marcius, or
“ any other patrician, whosoever he be, has injured the
“ people, and deserves either death, or banishment, let him
“ be punished for the injury he has done them ; but let him
“ not be tried by them, but in this place, as the law directs.
“ Unless you are pleased to say, Lucius, that the people will
“ act the part of an impartial judge, and shew no favor to
“ themselves, when they give their votes against an enemy ;
“ and that these, if they are suffered to vote in his case, will
“ shew more favor to the guilty man, than to the common-
“ wealth, that suffers by his guilt, when, by their sentence,
“ they are sure to draw upon themselves a curse, the infamy
“ of perjury, the detestation of mankind, and the anger of
“ the gods, and to live in expectation of misery. It is un-
“ worthy of you, citizens, to entertain these thoughts of the
“ senate, to whom you own you resign honors, magistracies,
“ and the greatest dignities in the commonwealth, on ac-
“ count of their virtue, and say you think yourselves much
“ obliged to them for the zeal they expressed for your return :
“ These things are not consistent ; neither is it reasonable that
“ you

“ you should fear those you commend, and intrust the same
 “ persons with things of the greatest moment, while you
 “ suspect them in Those of less consequence. Why do you
 “ not rather all agree to trust them with every thing, or to
 “ suspect them in every thing? You think them capable of
 “ making a previous order with justice, but not of judging
 “ in consequence of that order. I had many other things
 “ to say concerning the point of right, fathers, but let this
 “ suffice.

LIII. “ But, since Lucius, in order to convince us of the
 “ utility of this measure, has shewn how advantageous a
 “ thing union is, and how destructive, sedition; and that,
 “ if we cultivate the people, we shall live together in har-
 “ mony; but, if we hinder them from banishing, or mur-
 “ dering any of the patricians they think fit, we shall be
 “ involved in a civil war; though I have many things to
 “ say upon this head, I shall content myself with very few.
 “ And first, I cannot help admiring the vanity of Lucius
 “ (not to call it folly) for thinking himself a better judge of
 “ the interest of the state, though just come into the ad-
 “ ministration of the public affairs, than we, who are grown
 “ old in it, and have raised the commonwealth, from being
 “ inconsiderable, to the greatness she, now, enjoys: And, in
 “ the next place, for imagining he could persuade you to
 “ deliver up any man to his enemies to be punished: and,
 “ particularly, your fellow-citizen, a person of no small
 “ distinction, or merit; but one, whom you yourselves look
 “ upon as famous for his military exploits, most exemplary
 “ in

“ in his private life, and inferior to none in his abilities for
“ civil affairs. And these things he has dared to advance,
“ when he knows you, always, shew the greatest respect to
“ supplicants, and do not, even, exclude your enemies, who
“ fly hither for refuge, from this instance of your huma-
“ nity. If you knew we practised the contrary of all these,
“ Lucius; entertained impious sentiments concerning the
“ gods; were guilty of injustice towards men; what action
“ more infamous than this could you have advised us to
“ submit to, by which we must incur the hatred both of
“ gods, and men, and be, utterly, and, totally, destroyed?
“ We want not your advice, Lucius, either in delivering up
“ any of our citizens, or in any other affair we have to
“ transact; neither do we, who, at this age, have had so
“ long an experience both of good and bad fortune, think we
“ ought to be directed, in forming a judgement of our own
“ interest, by the prudence of young men, who are not of
“ our own body; nor do we fear the threats, with which you
“ endeavour to terrify us, which are not, now, employed by
“ you for the first time; but, having experienced them
“ many times, and urged by many persons, we shall treat
“ them with our usual mildness, and bear them with in-
“ trepidity: And, if you carry your threats into execution,
“ we shall defend ourselves with the assistance both of the
“ gods, who are, always, enemies to the aggressors in an
“ unjust war, and of men, no small number of whom will
“ support our cause: For, all the Latines, to whom we,
“ lately, granted the rights of Roman citizens, will declare
“ for

“ for us, and fight for this city, as for a country, now, their
 “ own; and the many flourishing colonies we have planted,
 “ zealous for the preservation of their mother city, will fly
 “ to her defence. And, if you reduce us to the necessity of
 “ embracing every kind of assistance, we will submit, Lucius,
 “ to invite even our slaves to liberty; our enemies to friend-
 “ ship; and all mankind to a share in our hopes of victory;
 “ and then engage you: But, O Jupiter, and all ye gods,
 “ who guard this city, may there be no occasion for any
 “ thing of this kind; may these terrible threats go no far-
 “ ther than words, and produce no disagreeable effect!”

LIV. Thus Appius spoke; when Manius Valerius, who was the greatest friend to the people of all the senators, and had shewn the greatest zeal for the accommodation, upon this occasion also, openly, espoused their interest; and made a studied speech, in which he censured those senators, who would not suffer the commonwealth to remain united, but sought to divide the plebeians from the patricians; and, for trifling causes, to rekindle the fire of a civil war: He, then, commended those, who looked upon the only advantage in question to be ²² That of the public, and thought every consideration should give way to an union of all the citizens; and told them that, if the people obtained the power they desired of trying this man, and received this favor, also, from the consent of the senate, they would, possibly, not even proceed to extremities; but, satisfied

²². Το κοινον. Instead of striking out *καί*, with Portus, I have substituted το in its place; and am apt to think that, if he had seen the Vatican manuscript, which has ἐν το συμφερον, he would have done the same.

with having him in their power, would treat him with lenity, rather than severity : However, if the tribunes should, by all means, insist on their proceeding to judgement, and put it in their power to give their votes, they would acquit him, as well from their respect to the person himself, then in danger, whose many brave actions they might remember, as to return the favor of the senate, who had granted them this power, and had opposed them in nothing, that was reasonable: And he advised the consuls, and all the senators, together with the rest of the patricians, to be present, in a body, at the trial, and to assist Marcius in making his defence, and intreat the people to come to no severe resolution against him (for he assured them that the presence of these would be of no small weight to facilitate his acquittal) and that they should assist him, not only, in their own persons, but that each of them should engage their own clients, and assemble their friends; and, if they thought that any of the plebeians were attached to them from the obligations they had received from them, they should solicit these, and desire they would shew their gratitude for former favors, when they came to give their votes. He told them, also, there would be many among the people, who were lovers of their country, enemies to all injustice, and men of worth; and still more, who would be moved with the vicissitude of human affairs, and know how to compassionate men of dignity, when humbled by fortune. But the greatest part of his discourse was addressed to Marcius himself, in which he joined an exhortation to a remonstrance, and
intreaty

intreaty to necessity : For he begged of him, since he was accused of dividing the people from the senate, and, also, charged with being tyrannical by reason of his haughty behaviour, and that all men were afraid lest, through his means, cause should be given for sedition, and for all the irreparable mischiefs, which flow from civil wars, that he would not verify, and give a sanction to, these accusations against himself, by persevering in his invidious behaviour, but change it to an humble deportment ; submit his person to the power of those, who complained of being injured, and not decline to clear himself of an unjust charge by a just defence : For these measures, he told him, were the most safe with regard to his preservation ; and, with regard to the glory he aimed at, the most illustrious, and of the same tenor with the great actions he had, already, performed : Whereas, if he should act with greater pride, than moderation, and desire the senate to expose themselves to every danger for his sake, he shewed him that he would be the cause either of an unhappy defeat, or of an opprobrious victory to those, who had suffered themselves to be persuaded by him. And, upon this occasion, he laid himself out in lamentations, and enumerated the most considerable, and the most obvious misfortunes, to which commonwealths are exposed through dissensions.

LV. These things having been uttered with many real, not feigned, and affected tears, by a man, eminent for the dignity both of his age, and virtue, the senate was moved with his discourse ; which he observing, proceeded with

greater confidence: “ But, says he, if any of you, fathers,
 “ are alarmed with an apprehension that you will introduce
 “ a pernicious custom into the commonwealth, if you grant
 “ the people a power of giving their suffrages against the
 “ patricians, and entertain an opinion that the tribunitian
 “ power, if considerably strengthened, will prove of no
 “ advantage, let them learn that their opinion is erroneous,
 “ and their imagination contrary to sound reasoning: For,
 “ if any measure can tend to preserve this commonwealth,
 “ to assure both her liberty, and power, and to establish a
 “ perpetual union, and harmony in all things, the most
 “ effectual will be to give the people a share in the govern-
 “ ment: And the most advantageous thing to us will be,
 “ not to have a simple, and unmixed form of government,
 “ neither ²³ a monarchy, an oligarchy, nor a democracy,

²³ Πολιτειαν ακρατον, μητε MONAPXIAN, μητε ολιγαρχιαν, μητε δημοκρατιαν. I am very much surpris'd that none of the learned men, who have bestowed their pains upon Dionysius, saw the necessity of adding μοναρχιαν, which is omitted in all the editions, and manuscripts. Without this addition, our author's language is not Greek, and his reasoning is imperfect. The first of these assertions will appear, when it is considered that, after he has mentioned these different forms of government, he says, *μικτην εξ ΑΠΑΣΩΝ τελων καλιστασιν*; whereas, if he had spoken but of two, he would have said, *εξ αμφοτερων τελων*. Again, instead of *τελων ΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ των πολιτευματων*, he would have said *εκατερον*, if he had, before, mentioned but two sorts of govern-

ment. I shall, now, desire the reader to consider the context. Our author, in the next paragraph, shews by what means the excesses of monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy may be corrected, and begins with monarchy. This I must think very absurd, if he had not, before, mentioned it. But he goes on, and says, the Romans had taken all possible care that the monarchical power should not degenerate into tyranny, by investing two persons with it, instead of one, and by confining the exercise of it to a year; and, then, proceeds to the properest methods of preserving both the senate from a luxurious abuse of power, and the people from licentiousness. This recapitulation I think, plainly proves that, in describing the different forms of

“ but

“ but a constitution tempered with all of them : For each
 “ of these forms, when simple, very easily deviates into
 “ abuse, and excess ; but, when all of them are, equally,
 “ mixed, that part, which happens to innovate, and to ex-
 “ ceed the customary bounds, is, always, restrained by an-
 “ other, that is sober, and adheres to the established order.
 “ Thus monarchy, when it becomes cruel and insolent, and
 “ begins to pursue tyrannical measures, is subverted by an
 “ oligarchy consisting of good men : And an oligarchy,
 “ composed of the best men, which is your form of govern-
 “ ment, when, elated with riches, and dependants, it pays
 “ no regard to justice, or to any other virtue, is destroyed
 “ by a wise people : And, in a democracy, when the people,
 “ from being modest in their deportment, and observant of
 “ the laws, begin to run into disorders, and excesses, they
 “ are forced to return to their duty by the power, with
 “ which, upon those occasions, the best man of the com-
 “ monwealth is invested. You, fathers, have used all pos-
 “ sible precautions to prevent monarchical power from de-
 “ generating into tyranny : For, instead of a single person,
 “ you have invested two with the supreme power ; and,
 “ though you committed this magistracy to them not for

government at first, he did not omit
 monarchy. Upon the whole, if the
 reader pleases to cast his eye upon the
 sixth book of ^m Polybius, he will there
 find the same reasoning upon the
 three forms of government, from which
 reasoning our author, probably, de-

rived this true political system ; that
 every one of them, when simple, and
 unmixed, which the former calls, very
 properly, ἀπλὴν καὶ μονοειδῆ, is faulty ;
 and that the only perfect form is That,
 which consists in an union of *all three*.

^m P. 459.

“ an indefinite time, but only for a year, you, neverthe-
 “ less, appointed three hundred patricians, the most re-
 “ spectable both for their virtue, and their age, of whom
 “ this senate is composed, to watch over their conduct: But
 “ you do not seem, hitherto, to have appointed any to
 “ watch over your own, and to keep you within proper
 “ bounds. As for yourselves, I am, as yet, under no appre-
 “ hensions lest you should suffer your minds to be corrupted
 “ by great, and accumulated prosperity, who have, lately,
 “ delivered your country from a long tyranny; and, through
 “ continual, and lasting wars, have not, as yet, had leisure
 “ to grow insolent, and luxurious; but, with regard to your
 “ successors, when I consider how great alterations length
 “ of time brings with it, I am afraid lest the men of power
 “ in the senate should innovate, and, silently, transform our
 “ constitution to a monarchical tyranny.

LVI. “ Whereas, if you admit the people to a share in
 “ the government, no mischief can spring from the senate;
 “ but the man, who aims at greater power than the rest of
 “ his fellow-citizens, and has formed a faction in the senate
 “ of all, who are willing to partake of his counsels, and his
 “ crimes (for those, who deliberate concerning public affairs,
 “ ought to foresee every thing, that is probable) this great,
 “ this awful person, I say, when called upon by the tri-
 “ bunes to appear before the people, must give an account
 “ both of his actions, and thoughts to this people, incon-
 “ siderable as they are, and so much his inferiors; and,
 “ if found guilty, suffer the punishment he deserves. And,
 “ left

“ left the people themselves, when vested with so great a
 “ power, should grow wanton ; and, seduced by the worst
 “ of demagogues, become dangerous to the best citizens
 “ (for the multitude, generally, give birth to tyranny) some
 “ person of consummate prudence, created dictator by your-
 “ selves, will guard against this evil, and not allow them to
 “ run into excess ; and, being invested with absolute power,
 “ and subject to no account, will cut off the infected part
 “ of the commonwealth, and not suffer That, which is not
 “ yet infected, to be vitiated ; reform the laws ; excite the
 “ citizens to virtue, and appoint such magistrates, as he
 “ thinks will govern with the greatest prudence ; and, hav-
 “ ing effected these things within the space of six months,
 “ he will, again, become a private man, without receiving
 “ any other reward for these actions, than That of being
 “ honoured for having performed them. Induced, therefore,
 “ by these considerations, and convinced that this is the
 “ most perfect form of government, debar the people from
 “ nothing ; but, as you have granted them a power of
 “ choosing the annual magistrates, who are to preside over
 “ the commonwealth ; of confirming, and repealing, laws ;
 “ of declaring war, and making peace ; which are the
 “ greatest, and the most important affairs, that come under
 “ the consideration of our government, not one of which you
 “ have submitted to the absolute determination of the se-
 “ nate, allow them, in like manner, the power of trying
 “ offenders, particularly such, as are accused of crimes
 “ against the state, of raising a sedition, of aiming at ty-
 “ ranny

“ ranny, of concerting measures with our enemies to betray
“ the commonwealth, or of any other crimes of the like
“ nature : For, the more formidable you render the trans-
“ gression of the laws, and the alteration of discipline, by
“ appointing many inspectors, and many guards over the
“ insolent, and the ambitious, the more will your constitu-
“ tion be improved.”

LVII. After he had said this, and other things to the same purpose, he ended. And the rest of the senators, who rose up after him, except a few, concurred with him in opinion. When the previous order of the senate was to be drawn up, Marcius desired leave to speak, and said : “ You
“ all know, fathers, in what manner I have acted with re-
“ gard to the commonwealth ; that my zeal for your in-
“ terest has brought me into this danger, and that your
“ behaviour to me upon this occasion is contrary to my
“ expectation ; and you will, still, be more convinced of
“ this, when my affair is determined. However, since the
“ opinion of Valerius prevails, may these measures prove of
“ advantage to you, and may I form a wrong judgement of
“ future events. But, that you, who are to draw up the
“ previous order, may know upon what terms you are going
“ to deliver me up to the people ; and that I myself may,
“ also, know for what I am to be tried, I desire you will
“ order the tribunes to declare, in your presence, what the
“ crime is they design to accuse me of, and what kind of
“ title they will give to the cause.”

LVIII.

LVIII. He said this from an opinion that he was to be tried for the words he had spoken in the senate ; and, also, from a desire that the tribunes might acknowledge they designed to ground their accusation on them. But the tribunes, after consulting together, declared they accused him of aiming at tyranny ; and ordered him to prepare himself to make his defence against that charge : For they were unwilling to confine their accusation to one article, and That, neither strong in itself, nor acceptable to the senate ; but chose rather to leave to themselves a latitude of accusing him of what they should think fit : By which means, they expected to deprive Marcius of the assistance of the senators. Upon which, Marcius said ; “ If this is the crime I am to be tried
 “ for, I submit myself to the judgement of the plebeians,
 “ and let the previous order be drawn up without opposi-
 “ tion.” The greatest part of the senators were well pleased that he was to be tried upon this charge, for two reasons ; the first, that, from thenceforward, it would not be criminal for any person to deliver his sentiments, freely, in the senate ; and the other, that Marcius, whose course of life had, always, been modest and irreprehensible, would, easily, clear himself of that accusation. After this, the previous order for the trial was drawn up ; and Marcius had time given him to prepare for his defence till the third market day : For the Romans had, then, markets, as they now have, every ninth day ; and, upon these days, the plebeians resorted to the city from all parts of the country, and exchanged the product of their lands for what they wanted ; decided their contests

in a judicial way, and, by their votes, gave their sanction to those public affairs, which either the laws submitted, or the senate referred, to their determination : And, as the greatest part of them were employed in labor, and poor, they passed the interval, consisting of²⁴ seven days, in the country. As soon, therefore, as the tribunes received the previous order of the senate, they went to the forum ; and, calling the people together, gave great commendations to the senate ; and, having read the order, they appointed the day for the trial, at which they desired all the citizens to be present, as affairs of the greatest moment would, then, be submitted to their deliberation.

LIX. When these transactions came to be divulged, the plebeians, and patricians appeared against one another with great zeal, and opposition ; the former desiring

²⁴· Ἐπὶ αἱ ἡμέραι. Casaubon, and, after him, M. * * *, say that either our author, or the transcriber, has, by mistake, said ἐπὶ αἱ, instead of οὐκ ἔστι, which, they say, is the true reading. In this I cannot agree with them ; because, as the *Nundinae*, among the Romans, were held every ninth day, it is plain there could be but seven days between each. And, that the Romans understood it so themselves, I shall prove from undoubted authority. ⁿ Varro, in speaking of the encouragement given to agriculture in the early days of the commonwealth, says ; *Itaque (maiores nostri) annum ita diviserunt, ut nonis modo diebus urbanas res usurparent, reliquis septem ut rura colerent.* The

nundinal letters were the eight first letters of the alphabet ; and, in whatever year, the A was the first nundinae, every nundinae in that year fell upon an A ; and, going round from A to A, it is plain that there were no more than seven intervening letters. The dominical letters, being the seven first letters of the alphabet, were, with many other things, borrowed from the old Romans by the Christians ; and, in whatever year, the first Sunday falls upon an A, every Sunday in that year will, also, fall upon an A ; and it is equally plain, that, from A to A, there are no more than six intervening days.

ⁿ B. ii. De Re Pecuararia. In the preface.

to chastise the most arrogant of all men; and the latter to prevent the champion of the aristocracy from falling a victim to his enemies; both parties looking upon their preservation, and their liberty to depend upon the event of this trial. When the third market day was come, there was such a concourse of people from the country, as had, never before, been known, who got possession of the forum by break of day. The tribunes, then, caused the people to assemble in their tribes, having, beforehand, divided the forum with ropes, and appointed a separate stand for each tribe. And this was the ²⁵ first time the people of Rome were ever

²⁵ Καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἐγένετο Ῥωμαίοις ἐκκλησία ἢ φυλετική. Our author shews the difference between the *comitia centuriata*, and *tributa*, so fully, together with the reasons, which induced the tribunes to insist upon the latter, that it would be to very little purpose to add any thing to what he has said upon this subject; particularly, since ° I have treated it at large upon another occasion. I shall, therefore, only say that, by the institution of the *comitia tributa*, the people were restored to a right they had, ever, enjoyed from the foundation of their city, till they were deprived of it by Servius Tullius, when he introduced the *comitia centuriata*; which, however reasonable in other respects, were, most certainly, injurious to the people, as to their right of voting: For, till then, the only *comitia* were the *curiata*, in which the vote of every Roman citizen was of equal importance: The majority of the *curiae* carried every question; and the ma-

jority of single votes determined the vote of every *curia*. Whereas, in the *comitia centuriata*, the first class, which consisted alone of eighty centuries of foot, and eighteen of horse, all composed of the richest subjects of the commonwealth, made a majority of three: Consequently, if they all agreed, it was to no purpose to take the votes of the remaining ninety five centuries: By which method of voting, the following classes were seldom, and the inferior classes, scarce ever, called upon to give their votes. As to the *comitia tributa*, the citizens voted in these, as they did in the *comitia curiata*: The majority of tribes was conclusive; and the vote of every tribe was known by the majority of single votes in that tribe. By this detail, it appears that, by the institution of the *tributa comitia*, the people gained no new right; but were, only, restored to a right their ancestors had, before, enjoyed.

° See the 122^d annotation on the second book.

affembled in their tribes to give their votes. This the patricians, violently, opposed, and insisted on their assembling the people in their centuries, according to the established custom : For, before that time, when the people were to give their votes upon any point referred to them by the senate, the consuls assembled them in their centuries, after they had offered up the sacrifices appointed by law ; and, to this day, some of these are performed : Then the people assembled in the field of Mars, before the city, drawn up under their centurions, and their ensigns, as in war : They did not give their votes promiscuously, but each in their respective centuries, when called upon by the consuls : And there being, in all, one hundred and ninety three centuries, and these distributed into six classes, that class was first called, and gave its vote, which consisted of those citizens, whose fortunes were of the greatest value upon the register, and who stood in the foremost rank in battle : In this were comprised eighteen centuries of horse, and eighty of foot : The class, that voted in the second place, was composed of those of inferior fortunes, whose post, in actions, was in the second rank, and who were armed in a different, and lighter manner, than those in the first rank ; all these formed twenty centuries, and to them were added two centuries of carpenters, and armourers, and other artificers employed in making warlike engines : Those who were called to vote in the third class, completed twenty centuries ; these had smaller fortunes, than those of the second class, and were posted behind them, and not armed like those of the second rank : The next
“ called,

called, were inferior in fortune to the last, and had a safer post in battle, and their armour was more calculated for expedition: These, also, were divided into twenty centuries; and to them were added two centuries of blowers on the horn, and trumpeters: The class, which was called in the fifth place, consisted of such, as had very small fortunes; and whose arms were javelins, and slings: These had no certain post, when the army was drawn up; but, being light armed men, and prepared for expedition, they attended the heavy armed men, and were distributed into thirty centuries: The poorest of the citizens, who were not less numerous than all the rest, voted last, and made but one century: These were exempt from serving in the army, and from the taxes paid by the rest of the citizens in proportion to their possessions; and, for both these reasons, their suffrages were of the least weight. If, therefore, ninety seven of the first centuries, which consisted of the horse, and of such of the foot, as stood in the first rank in time of action, were of the same opinion, the poll was at an end, and the remaining ninety six centuries were not called to give their votes: But, if it were otherwise, the second class, composed of twenty two centuries, was called, and, then the third; and so on, till ninety seven centuries were of the same opinion: Generally the points in dispute, were determined by the votes of the first classes: So that, it was needless to take Those of the last. And it seldom happened that a point was so doubtful, as to make it necessary to have recourse to the votes of the poorest citizens, of whom the last class was

com-

composed : But, if the first hundred and ninety two centuries were, equally, divided, the last vote, added to either side, was in the nature of a final determination, and turned the scale. The advocates, therefore, of Marcius desired that this kind of assembly, founded on the possessions of the citizens, might be called, from an expectation that he might, possibly, be acquitted, upon the first call, by the ninety eight centuries ; if not, at least upon the second, or third. On the other side, the tribunes, suspecting this, thought it their interest to call an assembly of the people in their tribes, and to empower that kind of assembly to decide this cause ; to the end, that neither the poor might be in a worse condition, than the rich ; nor the light armed men be placed in a less honourable station, than the heavy armed ; nor the body of the people, by being thrown off to the last calls, stand excluded from an equality of suffrage : But that, all the citizens might be equal in their votes, and equal in their ranks, and, at one call, give their votes in their tribes. The claim of the tribunes seemed to be the best founded ; because they contended that the tribunal of the people ought to be a popular, not an oligarchical, tribunal, and that the cognizance of crimes committed against the commonwealth ought to be common to all.

LX. The tribunes having obtained this, also, from the patricians, though not without difficulty, when it was time for the trial to begin, Minucius, one of the consuls, was the first person, who ascended the rostrum, and spoke in the manner the senate had directed him : And first, he put the
people

people in mind of all the benefits they had received from the patricians; then he desired that, in return for so many good offices, the people would grant them one favor, which they were under a necessity of requesting, as it would tend to the good of the commonwealth. After this, he displayed the advantages of concord, and peace, shewing the great happiness, which each of them brought to every government; and inveighed against discord, and civil wars, by which, he told them, many cities had been destroyed, with all their inhabitants, and whole nations extirpated: He exhorted them not to indulge their resentment so far, as to prefer destructive, to salutary, counsels, but, with calm reason, to contemplate future events, nor to take the worst of their fellow-citizens for their advisers in affairs of the greatest importance; but those they esteemed the best, from whom they knew their country had received many advantages both in peace, and war, and whom, as if their natures were changed, they would not think it reasonable to distrust. However, the single aim of his whole discourse was to persuade them to pass no vote against Marcius; but to acquit the man, for his own sake, particularly when they remembered in what manner he had acted with regard to the commonwealth, and how many battles he had gained in fighting for her liberty, and sovereignty; and that they would act neither with piety, justice, nor a due regard to themselves, if they resented his unguarded words, and were ungrateful to his glorious actions: This, he told them, was the proper season for them to acquit him, when he himself was come

to yield up his person to his adversaries, and was ready to acquiesce in whatever they should think fit to determine: But, if it was impossible for them to be reconciled to him, and they, still, continued severe and inexorable, he desired them to consider that the senate, consisting of three hundred, all the best men of the city, were come to intercede for him, and begged of them to feel some compassion, and relent; and not, for the sake of punishing one enemy, to reject the intercession of so many friends; but to disregard the chastisement of a single man, in favor of so many worthy persons. Having said this, and many things to the same purpose, he ended his speech with this suggestion; that, if they acquitted the man by their votes, it would be looked upon that they acquitted him because they thought him not guilty of any crime towards the people; but, if they put a stop to the proceedings, they would appear to have gratified his intercessors.

LXI. When Minucius had done speaking, Sicinnius, the tribune, presented himself, and said, that he would neither betray the liberty of the plebeians himself, nor, willingly, suffer others to betray it: But, if the patricians, really, consented that the man should be tried by the plebeians, he would take their votes, and do nothing more. After this, Minucius advancing, said: “ Since, tribunes, you desire, at
“ all events, that the people should give their votes con-
“ cerning this man, confine yourselves to the charge you
“ have brought against him; and, as you have alledged that
“ he aims at tyranny, shew this, and bring your evidence to
“ prove it; but neither mention, nor charge him with, the
“ words

“ words you accuse him of having spoken in the senate
 “ against the people : For the senate have, by their votes,
 “ acquitted him of this accusation, and thought proper that
 “ he should appear before the people, upon the terms con-
 “ tained in their order.” After which, he read the previous
 order ; and, having said this, and conjured them to adhere
 to it, he descended from the rostrum. Sicinnius was the
 first of the tribunes, who opened the charge, which he did
 in a studied, and elaborate speech, attributing every thing
 the man had, ever, said, or done against the interest of the
 people to a formed design of tyranny. When he had done
 speaking, the most eloquent of the tribunes pursued the
 accusation.

LXII. After this, Marcius made his defence ; and, begin-
 ning from his first entrance into the world, he enumerated all
 the campaigns he had made in the service of his country ; the
 crowns he had received from the generals as rewards of victory ;
 the prisoners he had taken, and the citizens he had saved in
 battle : And, upon every occasion, he produced these rewards,
 cited the generals, as witnesses, and called upon the citizens
 he had saved, by name : These presented themselves with la-
 mentations, and intreated their fellow-citizens not to destroy,
 as an enemy, the man, to whom they owed their preservation,
 begging one life in return for many, and offering themselves,
 in his room, to be treated by them as they thought fit.
 The greatest part of these were plebeians, and men, ex-
 tremely, useful to the commonwealth : Their aspect, and
 intreaties raised such a sense of shame in the people, that

they melted into commiseration, and tears. Then Marcius, rending his garment, shewed his breast full of wounds, and every other part of his body covered with scars, and asked them if they thought that to preserve many in war, and to destroy the preserved in time of peace, were actions of the same man ; and, if any one, who forms a design of tyranny, ever expels the common people from a city, by whom tyranny is, chiefly, abetted, and nourished. While he was yet speaking, those among the people, who were inclined to moderation, and lovers of merit, cried out to acquit the man ; and were ashamed that one, who had, so often, despised his own life to preserve them all, should, even, have been brought to his trial upon such an imputation : But those, who were by nature envious, enemies to virtue, and easy to be led into any kind of sedition, were sorry they were going to acquit him, but found they could do no otherwise, since they saw no manifest proof of his having aimed at tyranny, which was the point, upon which they were to give their votes.

LXIII. This being observed by Lucius, who had spoken in the senate, and prevailed on them to pass the previous order for the trial, he rose up ; and, having commanded silence, said ; “ Since, citizens, the patricians have acquitted
“ Marcius of the words he spoke in the senate, and of the
“ violent, and overbearing actions, that flowed from them,
“ and do not, even, suffer us to accuse him of either, hear
“ what an action, independent of those words, this valiant
“ man has been guilty of, how insolent and tyrannical ;
“ and learn of what nature that law is, which he, though a
“ private

“ private person, has violated: You all know this law or-
 “ dains that the spoils, taken by us from the enemy by our
 “ valor, shall belong to the public, and that it is so far from
 “ being in the power of any private person to dispose of
 “ them, that even the general himself has not this power; but
 “ the quaestor, receiving them, sells them, and brings the
 “ money into the public treasury. And this law no one
 “ has, yet, found fault with, since we have inhabited this
 “ city, so far from violating it: Marcius is the only man,
 “ who has despised the authority of this law; he alone has
 “ thought fit to appropriate to himself those spoils, citizens,
 “ that belong to us in common; this he did last year; his
 “ crime is of no long date: For, when you made an incur-
 “ sion into the territory of the Antiates, and took many
 “ prisoners, many cattle, and a great quantity of corn, to-
 “ gether with many other effects, he neither produced these
 “ before the quaestor, nor sold them himself, and brought
 “ the money into the treasury; but distributed, and lavished
 “ the whole booty among his own friends. This action I
 “ aver to be a proof of his aiming at tyranny. How should
 “ it be otherwise, when he applied the public money to the
 “ gratification of his flatterers, his guards, and the accom-
 “ plices in the tyranny he meditated? And this I maintain
 “ to be an open violation of the law. Let Marcius, then,
 “ stand up, and prove one of these two things, either that
 “ he did not distribute the spoils he took from the enemy’s
 “ country among his own friends, or that, in doing so, he
 “ did not violate the laws: Neither of which will he be able

“ to prove before you : For you yourselves are acquainted
“ with both ; you know the law, you know the fact ; and,
“ if you acquit him, your resolution must be looked upon
“ as contrary both to justice, and your oaths. Away then,
“ Marcius, with your crowns, your rewards of valor, your
“ wounds, and all the rest of your ostentation ; and answer
“ to these points : For I still give you liberty to do it.”

LXIV. This accusation caused a great alteration to the other side : For those among the people, who were most moderate, and earnest for the acquittal of Marcius, upon hearing these things, grew more remiss ; and all the ill-disposed, who were the greatest part, desiring to destroy him at all events, were still the more encouraged to his ruin, by laying hold of this strong, and manifest proof : For the distribution of the spoils was fact, but done with no ill intention, nor to promote a design of tyranny, as Lucius alledged against him ; but from the best motive, and to redress the miseries of the public : For the sedition, then, continuing, and the people being divided from the patricians, their enemies, despising them, infested their country, and plundered it without intermission ; and, whenever the senate thought fit to order an army to be sent out to its relief, not one of the plebeians would serve in it, but rejoiced at the desolation, and suffered it to continue ; and the forces of the patricians alone were not sufficient to defend the country. Marcius, observing this, promised the consuls, that he would march against the enemy with an army of volunteers, if they would give him the command of it, and, soon, take revenge
on

on them. Marcius, being authoris'd in the manner he had desired, assembled his clients, and friends, and such of the citizens, as were willing to share the advantages expected from the general's fortune in war, and his valor: When he thought the forces he had assembled equal to the proposed expedition, he led them against the enemy, who had no intelligence of his design: And, entering their country, which was well stored with every thing valuable, he possessed himself of a vast booty, all which he distributed among his soldiers, to the end that those, who had assisted him in this expedition, by receiving the fruit of their labor, might, chearfully, engage in the service upon other occasions; and that the others, who had declined it, seeing what advantages they had lost through their sedition, might act with greater prudence, when other expeditions were proposed. This was the intention of the man in that affair; but to the jealous, and invidious multitude, this action, when considered by itself, appeared a kind of flattery of the people, and a corruption tending to tyranny. So that, the forum was full of clamor, and tumult; and, as the charge appeared uncommon and unexpected, neither Marcius himself, the consul, nor any other person, could make any defence to it. When nothing further was said in his favor, the tribunes called upon the tribes to give their votes, and confined the punishment of Marcius to perpetual banishment; fearing, I imagine, lest, if they had extended it to death, he should have been acquitted. After they had all voted, upon counting the suffrages, the difference did not appear considerable:

For

For there being, at that time, ²⁶ twenty two tribes, that voted, nine of them acquitted Marcius: So that, if two

²⁶. Μίας γὰρ καὶ εἰκοσι τῶν φυλῶν ἔσων.

There is, I believe, no passage in this, or in any other author, upon which the commentators have bestowed more pains to less purpose: Which I am not at all surpris'd at, since, as the text, now, stands in all the editions, and manuscripts, it is not possible to reconcile it to figures, which are of greater authority than any editions, and manuscripts whatsoever. But, before I give my own opinion upon this passage, I shall lay before the reader the different expedients different commentators have had recourse to; in order to convince him that, as the text, now, stands, it is impossible to be explained. Our author says that Marcius was acquitted by nine tribes; and that, if two more tribes had voted for him, he would have been acquitted by reason of the equality of votes, as the law required. Now, the number of twenty one tribes, as it stands in the text, will not agree either with the fact, as our author states it, or with the consequence he draws from that fact: For, if nine tribes of the twenty one acquitted Marcius, twelve must have condemned him; take two from the twelve, which condemned him, and add them to the nine, that acquitted him, according to the supposition of our author, the consequence will be, that eleven will acquit him, and ten condemn him; in which case, he will not be acquitted by an equality of votes, as our author, also, supposes, but by a majority of one vote. The

number of twenty one, therefore, will not answer these purposes, nor any other number but twenty two; out of which, if we take the nine votes, that were for him, there will be found thirteen against him: From this number, take two, and add them to the first nine, and there will be found eleven for him, and as many against him; by virtue of which equality, he must have been acquitted, as the law required. It may be said this solution is very easy; but that, in order to come at it, I must alter the text from twenty one to twenty two tribes. This I own: But, at the same time, I desire the reader to consider, that, as the reasoning of our author depends upon numbers, it must be explained by numbers; and no other possible number can support it, but That, which I have mentioned. Every one, who has examined Greek manuscripts, must know that nothing is so common, as to find mistakes committed by transcribers in relation to numbers; and how easy was it for them to write $\alpha\alpha$, instead of $\alpha\beta$? ^p Manucius, in order to solve the difficulty of the text, which all the commentators have adhered to, imagines that there were, at that time, thirty one tribes at Rome, of which only twenty one voted in the affair of Coriolanus. This supposition is, entirely, gratuitous, and founded on no authority: However, M. *** has adopted it. Le Jay, indeed, rejects this imagination of Manucius, but substitutes another in its room, which

^p De Comit. Rom. c. 2.

more had voted in his favor, he would have been acquitted by reason of the equality of votes, as the law required.

is as little founded on the Greek language, and the Roman laws, as the other is on the Roman history. He supposes that *ισοψηφία* signifies, in the Greek authors, not only, an equal number of votes, but an equal force, an equal authority in the suffrages, although the number of them be not equal; *pas seulement un nombre égal de voix et de suffrages, mais une égale force, une égale autorité dans les suffrages; quoique le nombre n'en soit pas égal.* From this position, for which he neither has, nor pretends to have, any authority, he concludes that, as Marcius had nine tribes in his favor, if two other tribes had come to their support, the law would have saved him; because the law gave to the eleven tribes, as he says, that would, then, have acquitted him, an authority equal to That of the twelve tribes, that condemned him. Note, that le Jay has, all along, contended, and endeavoured to prove, that there were only twenty one tribes in being, when Coriolanus was tried; and, now, he makes them twenty three. But he goes on, and says that the law, here mentioned by Dionysius, did not allow a criminal to be condemned, who had but one vote more against him, than for him. Here, le Jay assumes a higher character; and, as in the capacity of a critic, he gave a signification to a word, which it, never, had before; so now, in That of a legislator, he has enacted a law, which, never before existed. I should not have employed so much time in

relating, much less in refuting, such absurdities, if his brother jesuits, the journalists of Trevoux, had not dignified these very absurdities with the title of *subtil reflexions*. The only objection, that can be made to the alteration I contend for, is, that there were no more than twenty one tribes in being, when Coriolanus was tried. This supposition, I know, is embraced by several men of learning; notwithstanding which, I cannot, after the most scrupulous examination of this question, find any foundation for it. It is a subject, which is far from being cleared up with the certainty requisite to enable any one to form a judgement either way. But, that I may conceal nothing from the reader's view, I shall state every thing I can find relative to this question. In the first place, ^r our author tells us that Servius Tullius (for I think it to no purpose to go back to the divisions of the people made by Romulus) divided the city of Rome into four local tribes, called the *Palatina*, *Suburana*, *Collina*, and *Esquilina*; and that ^s he, also, divided the whole country into a certain number of tribes, which he does not specify; but quotes Fabius for saying it was divided into twenty six, and Venonius for alledging that it was divided into thirty one tribes. It is plain that he follows neither; since he says that, at the trial of Coriolanus, which happened so many years after, there were no more than twenty one, or, as I say, twenty two tribes. We are, therefore, at a loss to

^r See the preface.

^r B. iv. c. 14.

^s Id. ib. c. 15.

LXV. This was the first citation of a patrician to the tribunal of the people : And, from this time, it became customary

know how many rustic tribes Servius Tullius instituted. Neither do we hear any more of tribes, till the year of Rome 259, when ^t Livy says there were twenty one tribes at Rome ; *Romæ tribus una et viginti factæ*, as Sigonius reads it, though all the other editions have *una et triginta*, as it was, also, in the epitome of the same book, till he himself altered it in his edition of Livy ; and I find, by his note upon this passage, that the chief reason of his altering it, was, because Dionysius says that, at the trial of Coriolanus, which was but four years after, there were present twenty one tribes. This is begging the question, against which I contend. And, in his ^u book, *de antiquo jure civium Romanorum*, he thinks the two tribes *Crustumina*, and *Ocriculana* were added at the time Livy means. That they were Roman tribes, I do not in the least doubt, but rather believe them to have been two of the rustic tribes instituted by Servius Tullius ; because the towns, from which they took their names, had, before that time, been conquered by the Romans. After this, that is, after the year 259, we find, by Livy, that many tribes were instituted at different times, no less than twelve, and two more, in the epitome of his nineteenth book ; that is, the *Velina*, and *Quirina*. If this was in Livy himself, and not in the epitome, it would weaken, though not destroy, what I have said ; because the consequence would be that, by supposing Coriolanus to have been

tried by twenty two tribes, I make thirty six tribes in all ; whereas, it is well known, that their number, never, exceeded thirty five. But it is certain, and must be allowed that the epitome of Livy was not written by Livy ; because there are many errors in it, which Livy was not capable of committing. But I have something more to say against the authority of this epitome, with relation to these two tribes. The name of one of them, viz. *Quirina*, is inserted by Sigonius in the room of *Esquilina*, as it stands in all the other editions, which was the name of one of the old city tribes : However, it is scarce possible, but some of these fourteen tribes might have had two names ; and, if that happened to have been the case but of one of them, my purpose is answered ; and, then, there will not be, even according to my own hypothesis, above thirty five tribes in all. I must beg of the reader not to look upon the supposition I have made to be calculated only to answer an objection : There is frequent mention made, in ancient monuments, of Roman tribes, that are not to be found in any authors ; as, the tribes *Horatia*, *Papia*, and *Camilla* ; and, in later times, we find the tribes *Julia*, *Flavia*, and *Ulpia*, called so in compliment to Augustus, Vespasian, and Trajan, which were only new names given to old tribes ; since it is certain, as I said, that the Romans, never, had but thirty five tribes. I know it may be said that, if there were twenty two tribes,

^t B. ii. c. 21.

^u P. 19.

for those, who were, afterwards, invested with the tribunitian power, to summon any of the citizens they thought fit to appear before the people, in order to be tried by them. From this beginning, the power of the people rose to a great height; while the aristocracy lost much of its ancient dignity by admitting the plebeians into the senate, and allowing them to stand candidates for magistracies; by not opposing their being invested with the priesthood, and by

tribes, there could be no casting vote : But I answer that, in criminal cases, when the tribes were, equally, divided, the offender would have been acquitted; and, in civil contests, the motion would have been rejected. * Aristotle gives many subtil reasons in favour of this law; one of which I shall lay before the reader in his own words : *Ετι μείζω μὲν ἀδικεῖ ὁ ἐκ προνοίας ἀδικῶν ἢ ὁ μὴ ἐκ προνοίας. Ὁ μὲν δὴ συκοφαντῶν αἰεὶ ἐκ προνοίας ἀδικεῖ· ὁ δὲ ἕτερον τι ἀδικῶν, τὰ μὲν δι' ἀναγκὴν· τὰ δὲ δι' ἀγνοίαν· τὰ δὲ, ὅπως ἐλύχεν ἀδικεῖν αὐτῷ συμπίπτει. Ὅταν δὲ ἴσται γενῶνται αἱ ψήφοι, ὁ μὲν διώκων κεκρί- ται ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμισέων ἐκ προνοίας ἀδικεῖν· ὁ δὲ φεύγων, ὑπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν αὐτὸν ἀδικεῖν μὲν, καὶ μὲντοι γὰρ ἐκ προνοίας. Ὡς ἔπειτα ἀδικεῖν μείζω κεκρίσθαι ὁ διώκων τὸ φευγόντος, εἰκότως ὁ νομοθέτης νικᾷ ἐκρίνε τον τὰ ἐλαττω ἀδικήσῃα.* “ Besides, the man, who offends with
“ premeditation, is a greater delin-
“ quent than he, who offends without
“ premeditation. Now, the calumnia-
“ tor always offends with premedia-
“ tion: Whereas, the person, who is
“ guilty of any other crime, some-
“ times offends through necessity;
“ sometimes through ignorance; and
“ at others, as he may happen to of-

“ fend. When, therefore, the votes
“ are equal, the prosecutor is judged
“ by half the votes to offend with pre-
“ meditation; and the defendant is
“ judged by the rest to offend indeed,
“ but not with premeditation. So
“ that, since the prosecutor is judged
“ to be a greater delinquent than the
“ defendant, the legislator wisely de-
“ termined that the lesser delinquent
“ should have the advantage over the
“ greater.” The law, here, mentioned
by Dionysius, was borrowed from the
Greeks by the Romans, and, from
these, by the greatest part of the west-
ern world, where it is, still, in use, as
it is with us, upon many occasions.
Praesumitur pro negante seems to be a
maxim, generally, received. Euripides
derives the institution of this law from
the trial of Orestes, before the areo-
pagus for the murder of his mother
Clytaemnestra, when he was acquitted
by an equality of votes; of which Mi-
nerva gives this account *;

ἔνεκ' ἐξέσωσα σε,
Καὶ πρὶν γ' Ἀρεοίσις ἐν πάσις ΨΗΦΟΥΣ ἸΣΑΣ
Κρίνας, Ὁρεσα, καὶ νομίσμ' εἰς ταῦτο γὰρ
Νικᾶν, ἸΣΗΠΕΙΣ ὅσις αὖ ΨΗΦΟΥΣ λαβέχ.

* Problem. Sect. 29. Quest. 13.

* Iphig. in Taur. v. 1469.

communicating to all the most considerable of their other dignities, even those, that were peculiar to the patricians ; some of which concessions they yielded to through necessity, and against their will, and to others through foresight, and wisdom: All which I shall mention at a proper season. However, this custom, I mean That of citing the men of power at Rome to a trial, where the people were judges, might afford a subject for many reflexions to those, who are disposed either to commend, or blame it: For it is certain that many brave, and good men have been treated in a manner unworthy of their virtue, and have suffered a shameful, and miserable death, at the instigation of the tribunes. On the other side, many men of arrogant, and tyrannical dispositions, being compelled to give an account of their lives, and conduct, have suffered the punishment they deserved. When, therefore, these inquiries have been pursued with the best intentions, and the pride of the great was, justly, humbled, this institution appeared grand, and admirable, and met with general applause: But, when a virtuous, and able statesman was put to death through envy, and contrary to justice, the rest of the world were shocked at the institution, and the authors of it detested. The Romans have, often, deliberated whether they should repeal this institution, or preserve it in the same vigor they had received it from their ancestors ; but never came to any resolution. If I may be allowed to give my own opinion in affairs of so great moment, I look upon the institution, considered by itself, to be advantageous, and, absolutely, necessary to the Roman commonwealth ;
but

but that it is good, or bad, according to the different characters of the tribunes: For, when this power falls into the hands of just, and prudent persons, who prefer the interest of the public to their own, the man, who has injured his country, when punished in the manner he deserves, strikes terror into the minds of all, who are prepared to commit the like crimes; while the worthy man, who acts in the administration with the most upright intentions, is in no danger of being brought to an ignominious trial, or accused of crimes inconsistent with his conduct: But the contrary of all this happens, when wicked, abandoned, and interested men are invested with so great a power. So that, instead of reforming the institution, as faulty, they ought to consider by what means good, and worthy men may be placed at the head of the people, and that a trust of the greatest importance may not, injudiciously, be conferred on men of no character.

LXVI. These were the causes, and this was the event of the first sedition, that happened among the Romans after the expulsion of their kings. I have related all the circumstances of it in an extensive manner; to the end that no one may wonder how the patricians could submit to invest the people with so great a power, without being terrified into it by the murder, or banishment of the most considerable of their order; both which have happened in many other cities: For, when extraordinary events are related, every one desires to know the cause, that produced them, and considers That alone, as the source of their credibility. I reflected, there-

fore, that the relation I have given of this transaction would have gained little, or no credit, if I had contented myself with saying that the patricians resigned their power to the plebeians, and that, when they might have maintained the aristocracy, they invested them with the greatest prerogatives, and had omitted the motives, that induced them to come into these concessions : For which reason, I have related them all. And, since they did not make this change in their government by compulsion, and force of arms, but by persuasion, I thought it, absolutely, necessary to insert the speeches, which the heads of both parties made upon that occasion. I am surpris'd to find that some historians think themselves obliged to give an exact account of military transactions, and, sometimes, throw away many words in the relation of a single battle, in describing the situation of the places, the particular arms, the disposition of the armies, the exhortations of the generals, and every other circumstance, that contributed to the victory on either side ; but, when they come to give an account of civil commotions, and seditions, they think themselves under no obligation of relating the speeches, by which extraordinary, and wonderful events were brought to pass : For, if any thing in the Roman commonwealth deserves to be admired, and to be imitated by all mankind, this circumstance, in my opinion, deserves it, or rather surpasses, in its lustre, all the great things, which most deserve our admiration, that, neither the plebeians, in contempt of the patricians, took arms against them, and, after murdering many of the best men, seized all their fortunes ; nor,

on

on the other side, the men in power, by their own forces, or, by foreign assistance, destroyed all the plebeians, and, after that, lived in the city without molestation : But, conferring together upon their common rights, like brothers with brothers, or children with their parents in a well governed family, they put an end to their contests by persuasion, and a communication of their thoughts, and, never, allowed themselves to commit any irreparable, or wicked action against one another ; such as the Corcyraei were guilty of at the time of their sedition ; and, also, the Argivi, the Milesii, and all Sicily, as well as many other commonwealths. For these reasons, therefore, I chose to make my narration rather accurate, than short ; but, let every one judge of my conduct, in this particular, as he thinks fit.

LXVII. This having been the event of the trial, the people went away, extravagantly, elated, and thought they had destroyed the aristocracy. On the other side, the patricians were confounded, and dejected, and complained of Valerius, by whose persuasion they had been induced to leave the trial to the people ; and those, who conducted Marcius home, lamented, and shed tears, in commiseration of his misfortune ; but he himself was seen neither to bewail, nor lament his own fate, or to say, or do the least thing unworthy the greatness of his mind. When he went home, and saw his wife, and mother tearing their robes, beating their breasts, and uttering such lamentations as are natural to women in the like calamities, when they see themselves upon the point of being separated from their dearest relations

by

by death, or banishment, he shewed still greater fortitude, and resolution, and was unmoved at their tears, and their lamentations; but, only saluted them; and, exhorting them to support their misfortunes with firmness, he recommended his sons to them; the eldest of whom was ten years old, and the youngest, in arms; and, without shewing any other marks of tenderness, or taking any thing with him, that might be of use to him in his banishment, he hastened to the gates of the city, acquainting no one to what place he proposed to retire.

LXVIII. A few days after this, the time came for the election of magistrates, when Quintus Sulpicius Camerinus, and Spurius Lartius Flavius were created consuls, the last being chosen for the second time. The city was, this year, greatly alarmed with prodigies: For unusual sights were seen by many, and voices were heard, uttered by no man; births, both of children, and cattle, extremely unnatural, incredible, and monstrous were said to have happened; oracles were given in many places, and women, possessed with a divine fury, foretold miserable, and dreadful misfortunes to the commonwealth; a kind of contagious distemper was, also, felt by the people, and destroyed great numbers of cattle: However, not many men died of it, the mischief going no farther than a malady. Some were of opinion that these things proceeded from the will of the gods, who were angry with them for having banished the most deserving of all their citizens; others, that nothing, which had happened was the work of Heaven, but that both these, and all other human

human events were fortuitous. Afterwards, a certain person, whose name was Titus Latinus, being ill, was brought to the senate in a litter; he was a man advanced in years, and of a competent fortune, but worked with his own hands, and passed the greatest part of his life in the country: This person, being brought into the senate, affirmed that the Capitoline Jupiter had, as he thought, appeared to him in a dream, and said, “Go, Latinus, and let your fellow-citizens know
 “that, in the late procession, they did not give me an ac-
 “ceptable ²⁷ leader of the dance; let them renew the
 “festivals, and perform others from the beginning, for I
 “have not accepted these:” He added, that, when he waked, he disregarded the vision, and looked upon it as a common, and deceitful dream; that, afterwards, the same apparition of the god presenting itself to him, again, in his sleep, was angry, and displeased with him for not having acquainted the senate with the orders he had received, and threatened him that, if he did not presently do it, he should learn, by the experience of some great calamity, not to neglect supernatural injunctions: That he had no better opinion of the second dream, than of the first; and, at the

²⁷ Τον ἡγούμενον ορχήσιν. ^γ Livy calls this dancer, *praefultatorem*. I believe, or, at least, hope, that the generality of my readers will be as much tired with reading prodigies, as I am with translating them; or, which is better, that they will skip over the prodigies, till they find something more worthy of their attention: If a translator had the same liberty, I am very sure I

should make use of it. The noble, though partial, history of the Earl of Clarendon is, also, discoloured with a dream, as I have said, not very unlike to this: However, all authors may be assured that the most effectual way to lull their readers asleep is to talk to them of dreams. It is as contagious as gaping in company.

same time, was ashamed, being a person, who worked with his own hands, and an old man, to talk to the senate of ominous, and frightful dreams, for fear of being laughed at: However, a few days after, he said, his son, who was young and beautiful, died, suddenly, without sickness, or any other apparent cause of death: After this, the god, again, appeared to him in his sleep, and said that he had, already, been punished in part, for his contempt, and neglect of the orders he had received, by the loss of his son, and should soon feel other punishments: That, when he heard this, he received the threats with pleasure, and, being weary of life, desired to die; however, that the god did not inflict this punishment on him, but sent such intolerable, and sharp pains into all his limbs, that he could not move a joint without the greatest torment: Being in this condition, he communicated what had happened to his friends; and, by their advice, was come to the senate. While he was giving this account, his pains seemed to leave him by degrees; and, after he had related every thing, he rose from the litter; and, having invoked the god, walked home through the city in perfect health.

LXIX. Upon this, the senate were full of fear; every one was astonished, and at a loss to guess what was meant by the god, and who should be the leader of the dance in the procession, who appeared unacceptable to him. At last, one of them, remembering the thing, related it to the rest, and all of them confirmed it by their testimony. It was this: A Roman citizen of no obscure condition, having ordered
one

one of his slaves to be put to death, delivered him to his companions to lead him to his punishment ; and, with a view to render the chastisement the more exemplary, he directed them to drag him through the forum, and every other conspicuous part of the city, as they whipped him ; and that he should go before the procession, which the Romans were, at that time, performing in honor of that god. The men, ordered to lead the slave to the place of punishment, having extended both his arms, and fastened them to two pieces of wood, which reached cross his breast, and shoulders as far as his wrists, followed him, tearing his naked body with whips : The criminal, subdued by the severity of such treatment, cried out ; and, not only, uttered execrations, suggested by the torture, but threw himself into indecent contortions at every stroke. All thought this man to be the unacceptable dancer, signified by the god.

LXX. Since I am come to this part of the history, I ought not, in my opinion, to omit any thing performed by the Romans on the occasion of this festival : In this, I have no design to render my narration more agreeable by the addition of theatrical entertainments, and florid discourses, but to prove something necessary, which is, that the nations, who joined in founding the city of Rome, were Greek colonies, sent out from places of the greatest repute ; and not, as some imagine, Barbarians, and vagabonds : For I promised at the end of the first book, which I composed, and published concerning their origin, that I would prove what I, then, advanced, by a great number of arguments,

drawn from their ancient customs, laws, and institutions, which they preserve to this day, such as they received them from their ancestors: For I am of opinion that it is not enough for those, who write ancient, and local histories, faithfully to relate facts, as they have received them from the inhabitants of the country; but that they ought, also, to support those facts by many indisputable testimonies, if they expect their relations should find credit. Among these testimonies, I look upon the first, and the most considerable of all others to be the ceremonies relative to the established worship of the gods, and genius's, which are performed in every city: These, both the Greeks, and Barbarians, have preserved for the greatest length of time, and have, never, thought fit to make any innovation in them, being restrained from it by their fear of the divine anger; this fear makes the greatest impressions upon the Barbarians for many reasons, which I do not think this a proper opportunity to alledge; and no length of time has, hitherto, induced either the Egyptians, the Libyans, the Celtae, the Scythians, the Indians, or any other Barbarous nations whatever, to abandon, or transgress any thing relating to the worship of their gods; unless some of them have been subdued by a foreign power, and compelled to exchange their own institutions for Those of the conqueror. Whereas, the Roman commonwealth, never, experienced such a misfortune; but has herself, always, given laws to others. If, therefore, the Romans had been, originally, Barbarians, they would have been so far from abandoning their first rites, and the customs established in their

their country, by which they had arrived to so great prosperity, that they would, even, have made it the ²⁸ interest of all their subjects to worship the gods, according to the Roman ceremonies; and, if they themselves had been Barbarians, nothing could have hindered all Greece, which has, now, been subject to the Romans near ²⁹ seven generations, from being rendered Barbarous by them.

²⁸. Εν καλῶ κατέστησαν. I do not think that any of the translators have given the sense of this passage. Sylburgius has paraphrased it. Portus has said, *aliis omnibus, quibus imperabant, praeclarum fore existimassent*. Le Jay has rendered it, *ils se seroient fait un devoir de faire honorer leurs dieux*; and M. *** *il se seroient fait un devoir d'introduire leurs cérémonies*. Nothing of all this gives the sense of the Greek text. Εν καλῶ signifies *opportunately, advantageously*. ² Thucydides uses it in the last sense, when he says, Εν καλῶ ἐδοκεῖ ἡ μάχη εἰσεῖσθαι; which is, very well, explained by the Greek scholiast, ἐπὶ συμφερούσι. To apply this to the passage before us; I think it very plain that οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν καλῶ κατέστησαν τοῖς ἀλλοῖς ἀπασιν ὧν ἤρχοντες θύεας τοῖς σφέτεροις τιμᾶν νομιμοῖς, signifies that the Romans would have made it the interest of all their subjects to honour the gods, as they honoured them; that is, to embrace their religion. This is a piece of policy, by which most princes of Europe, at this day, regulate their conduct. I wish they would stop here, and not persecute those, who refuse to conform to the religion of their courts, where there is, seldom, any to be found.

²⁹. Ἐξ ὀσμῆν γενεάν. I find here a note of Glareanus in Sylburgius, which M. *** has translated without the least acknowledgement. In this note, Glareanus thinks these generations ought to be computed from the victory gained by the Romans over Perseus, king of Macedon, or from the end of the second Punic war, when, he says, the Romans had some footing in Greece. I cannot approve of either of these aeras. The first is not early enough: And the little the Romans possessed in Greece at the last aera does not deserve the application of the word κρατῆμενον: So that, I would rather date the conquest of Greece from the consulship of L. Furius Purpureo, and M. Claudius Marcellus, which fell out in the year of Rome 558; when T. Quinctius Flaminius, after he had defeated Philip of Macedon at Cynoscephelae, caused that famous decree to be published at the Isthmian games. By this decree, all the Greek cities, which had been under the dominion of Philip, were declared free: *Senatus populusque Romanus liberos, immunes, suis legibus esse jubet*: Then follow the names of the cities, that were to enjoy this noble benefit. Sure no nation,

² B. v. c. 59.

³ Livy, B. xxxiii. c. 32.

LXXI. The ceremonies, now practised by the Romans, might, possibly, be looked upon by others as no small indications of their ancient institutions. But, lest any one should think this a weak argument, and continue to ground their opinion on this improbable notion, that, after the Romans had conquered all Greece, they might forsake their own customs, and, willingly, embrace others, that were better, I shall deduce my proof from the time, when they were not yet masters of Greece, or of any other country on the other side of the sea: and support it by the authority of Quintus Fabius, without having recourse to That of any other author: For he is the most ancient of all the Roman historians, and proves what he asserts, not only, from the information of others, but, also, from his own knowledge. This festival, therefore, the Roman senate, ordered to be celebrated, as I said, pursuant to the vow made by the dictator, Aulus Postumius, when he was upon the point of giving battle to the Latines, who had revolted from the Romans, and were endeavouring to restore Tarquinius to the sovereignty: In consequence of this vow, they ordered ³⁰ five hundred minae of silver to be expended, every year, in the sacrifices, and the games; and this sum the Romans laid out on the festival, till the time of the

ever, used their victory with so much generosity. Livy says this proclamation raised such an ecstasy of joy in the minds of all the Greeks, who were present at these games, that they could scarce contain it: They caused the proclamation to be read again, and,

by their repeated acclamations, made it evident, that, of all benefits, liberty is the greatest.

³⁰ Πεντακοσίας μνας. 1614 *l.* 115. 8 *d.* of our money. See the twenty second annotation on the fourth book.

Punic

Punic war : And, during these holidays, many things were performed, according to the customs of the Greeks, such as the general assemblies, the reception of strangers, and the cessation of hostilities ; all which it would take up a great deal of time to describe ; but such as relate to the procession, the sacrifice, and the games (for from these a judgment may be formed of those I have not mentioned) are as follows.

LXXII. Before the games began, the principal magistrates performed a procession in honor of the gods, from the capitol through the forum to the great Circus : Those, who led the procession, were the sons of the Romans, approaching to manhood, and of an age to bear a part in this ceremony, who marched on horseback, if their fathers were intitled, by their fortunes, to be knights ; while the others, who were designed to serve in the infantry, went on foot ; the former in squadrons, and troops, and the latter in battalions, and companies, as if they were going to their place of exercise ; to the end that strangers might see the number, and beauty of these youths, who were growing to be men able to serve their country. These were followed by charioteers, some of whom drove chariots drawn by four horses in front, and some chariots drawn by two, while others rode unyoked horses : After these, came the ³¹ combatants both in the light, and heavy games, all naked except their middle.

³¹ Οι των Αθλημάτων αγωνισται. Αθληται is a general word in Greek, and signifies all the gymnastic combatants, as wrestlers, runners, boxers, etc. Και οι γυμνικοι μεν κυριως αθληται καλεσται, says ^b Julius Pollux.

^b B. iii. Segm. 143.

This custom continues, even to this day, at Rome as it was, originally, practised by the Greeks; but it is, now, abolished in Greece, the Lacedaemonians having put an end to it: The first person, who attempted to appear naked, and ran, in that condition, at the Olympic games, in the fifteenth Olympiad, was Acanthus, the Lacedaemonian: For, before that time, all the Greeks were ashamed to appear, intirely, naked in the games, as Homer, the most credible, and the most ancient of all witnesses, shews by introducing his heroes girded with cinctures: Thus, when he is describing the wrestling of Ajax, and Ulysses at the funeral of Patroclus, he says, *they* ³² *girded themselves, and advanced to the middle of the list*: This he makes still plainer in the Odysssey, upon the occasion of the boxing between Irus, and Ulysses, in these verses;

32. Τω δε ζωσαμενω βηλην ες μεσσον αγωνα. I suppose our author quoted this verse of Homer upon memory; because, in reality, the latter applies it to the boxing match between Epeus, and Euryalus; and not to the wrestling between Ajax, and Ulysses, to which he applies the following verse^c;

Ζωσαμενω δ' αρα τωβη βαλην ες μεσσον αγωνα.

This was scarce worth taking notice of; neither should I have mentioned it, had it not been to shew the great implicitness, which the French translators pay all along to their guides, the Latin translators. Hudson calls the verse, quoted by our author, the 685th, in which they have followed him: But, if either Hudson, or they, had read the context in Homer, they

would have found the two verses to have been applied in the manner I have mentioned. I am so great an admirer of Pope's translation of the Iliad, that I should, certainly, have given the reader his translation of this verse, as I shall of the others, which our author will, presently, quote, if he had not, I suppose to avoid a repetition, left out of his translation the very circumstance, for which our author quotes this verse, I mean, the word ζωσαμενω. However, he has not omitted it a little before, where he has, very properly, rendered

ζωμα δε οι πρωτον παρακαββαλεν,

Officious with the cincture girds him round.

Though the reader will find that he has, afterwards, left out μολπης εξαρχοντες.

^c Iliad. ψ. γ. 710.

Then,

*Then, girding his strong loins, the king prepares
To close in combat, and his body bares ;
Broad spread his shoulders, and his nervous thighs
By just degrees, like well turn'd columns rise ;
Ample his chest, his arms are round and strong.*

Pope.

And, when he introduces the beggar unwilling to engage, and, through fear, declining the combat; he says, *Thus they spoke ; But Irus sickened with fear ; however, the suitors forced him, even in this condition, to be girded, and dragged him trembling to the combat.* Thus it is plain that the Romans, who preserve this ancient Greek custom to this day, did not learn it from us afterwards, nor, even, change it in process of time, as we have done. The combatants were followed by bands of dancers, in three divisions; the first consisting of men; the second, of youths; and the third, of boys; these were accompanied by players on the flute, who made use of ancient flutes, small and short, such as are used at this time; and by players on the lyre, who struck ivory lyres with seven strings, called *βαρβίτα*, *barbita*; the use of which is left off, at this day, among the Greeks, though practised by their ancestors; but preserved by the Romans in all the ancient ceremonies relating to their sacrifices: The dancers were dressed in scarlet vests, girded with brass cinctures, from which hung their swords, and, in their hands, they carried spears shorter than ordinary; the men had, brazen helmets, adorned with beautiful crests, and plumes: Each band had its leader, who prescribed the figure of the dance to the rest, and, generally, repre-

represented warlike, and quick motions, in the ³³ time he beat. This, also, was a very ancient Greek institution, I mean, the armed dance, called the *Pyrrhic*; whether it was invented by Minerva, who first began to lead bands of dancers, and to dance in arms upon the destruction of the Titans, in order to celebrate the victory by this token of her joy, or whether the Curetes, still earlier introduced it, when, nursing Jupiter, they desired to divert him by the clashing of arms, and the motion of their limbs in time, according to the fable. Homer shews, in many places, the antiquity of this also, and that it was a national custom among the Greeks; but, particularly, in enumerating the ornaments of the shield, which, he says, Vulcan made a present of to Achilles: For, having represented in it two cities, one flourishing in peace, the other suffering by war, in That, on which he has bestowed the happier fate, he describes festivals, marriages, and entertainments, the natural effects of happiness, saying,

33. *Ρυθμοῖς*. The signification of this word is so much altered, that we have almost lost the original sense of it. In Greek, it signifies *time*, not *tune*; and modern languages have reduced the word to signify the bane of all poetry, *rime*. We have, indeed, almost shaken off this monkish yoke; at least, we have banished it from the stage; where it is, still, in so great admiration in France, that, not only, tragedies, but comedies, also, must be in rime: Nay I have been told in France, that the *Misanthrope* of Moliere, one of the best comedies, that, ever, appeared in any language, was written by him in

prose, and dressed in rime to please the extraordinary taste of his countrymen. This is the more surprising, because it must be allowed that the French dramatic poetry, for regularity, decency, and every thing but strength, excels all the performances of that kind, which our country, or any other has produced, since the resurrection of letters. If an English reader would allow me to render *εν τοῖς προκελευσματικοῖς ρυθμοῖς*, in *proceleusmatic rhythms*, as M. *** has said, *en rythmes proceleusmatiques*, it would save a translator a great deal of trouble.

The

*The youthful dancers in a circle bound,
To the soft flute, and cittern's silver sound:
Through the fair streets, the matrons in a row
Stand in their porches, and enjoy the show.*

Pope.

And, again, in describing another Cretan band of dancers, that consisted of youths, and maidens, with which the shield was adorned, he speaks in this manner ;

*A figur'd dance succeeds ; such as was seen
In lofty Gnossus, for the Cretan queen,
Form'd by Daedalean art. A comely band
Of youths, and maidens, bounding hand and hand.*

Pope,

And, in describing the dress of these dancers, in order to shew that the youths danced in arms, he says ;

*Of those the locks with flow'ry wreaths inroll'd,
Of these the sides adorn'd with swords of gold,
That glitt'ring gay from silver belts depend.*

Pope.

And, when he introduces the leaders of the dance, who prescribed the figure of it to the rest, and began it, he says ;

*The gazing multitudes admire around ;
Two active tumblers in the center bound ;
Now high, now low, their pliant limbs they bend,
And gen'ral songs the sprightly revel end.*

Pope.

It is, not only, from the warlike, and serious dance, which the Romans employed in their sacrificial ceremonies, and processions, that any one may observe their affinity to the Greeks, but, also, from That, which is satyrical, and jocose: For, after the armed bands, others marched in procession, personating satyres, and represented a Greek dance, called ³⁴ *Sicinnis*: Those, who personated the Sileni, were dressed in hairy vests, called by some, ³⁵ *Chortaei*, and in mantlets of various flowers: And those, who represented satyres, had cinctures, and wore skins of goats; and, on their heads, the manes of some animals standing upright, with other things of the like nature: These rallied, and mimicked the serious motions of the others by counterfeiting them ridiculously. The triumphal processions, also, shew that raillery, and satyrical jokes were an ancient, and national entertainment among the Romans: For the soldiers, who attend the triumphs, are allowed to satyrize, and ridicule the most considerable men, without sparing their generals, in the same manner as the Athenians, who rode in procession in carts formerly, were permitted to rally every one they met: Now, they sing extemporary verses: And I have seen, even, in the funerals of illustrious persons, bands of dancers personating satyres, who, together with the rest of the show,

34. Σικιννιν. I shall lay before the reader the account, given by the author of the *Etymologicum magnum*, of the satyrical dance, called by the Greeks, Σικιννις. That author says it was σαλν-
ρικη ορχησις· εμμελεια δε, τραγικη· κορδαξ
δε, κωμικη. ειρηλαι δε σικιννις παρὰ το

σειοθαι, και κινεισθαι· η απο Σικανς τς
Αθηναιων βασιλεως· οι δε απο τς παιδαγωγς
των Θεμισοκληος παιδων Σικανς.

35. Χορλαιοις. Χορλαιοις is, thus, ex-
plained by Suidas, and other lexicon
writers, δασυς και μαλλωλος χιτων. It is
derived from χορλος, which signifies bay.

preceded

preceded the bier, and imitated, in their motions, the dance, called Sicinnis, which is, particularly, practised in the funerals of the rich: And, that this satyrical manner of rallying, and the dance, I have spoken of, was not the invention either of the Ligures, the Umbri, or of any other Barbarians, who inhabited Italy, but of the Greeks, I shall not go about to prove, lest I should, even, disgust my readers in endeavouring to confirm, by more arguments, a thing, universally, allowed. After these bands of dancers, came a great number of players on the lyre, and the flute: And, after them, the persons, who carried the censers, in which perfumes and frankincense was burned all the way they went; and, also, the men, who bore the pageants made of gold, and silver, both Those, that were appropriated to religion, and Those, that belonged to the public. The images of the gods closed the procession; they were borne on mens shoulders; and appeared in the same shape with Those made by the Greeks, and had the same habits, the same symbols, and presents, of which each of them is said to have been the inventor, and the giver to mankind: These were the statues, not only, of Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Neptune, and of the rest, whom the Greeks reckon among the twelve; but, also, of Those³⁶ more ancient, of whom the fables say the twelve were born

³⁶. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν προγενεσέων. The reader will find by many passages in Herodotus, and Diodorus Siculus, that the Greeks borrowed the names of almost all their gods, and the whole system of their absurd religion from the Egyptians; whose country was the

school of mankind for two things seemingly inconsistent, learning, and superstition. How the most learned nation, of all others, came to be the most superstitious, contrary to reason, and contrary to experience in all other parts of the world, is not so easy to be

(as of Saturn, Rhea, Themis, Latona, The Destinies, Mnemosyne, and of all the rest, to whom temples, and holy

accounted for : The solution may be this ; that the learning, and the superstition were in different hands : For I imagine that the priests had learning without superstition ; and the laity superstition without learning. To this it may be objected, that, if the laity had superstition, they learned it from their priests ; no doubt ; but, we are not to conclude, that, because the priests taught superstition, they were themselves superstitious ; on the contrary, many passages in the ancient writers give us great reason to believe, and hope, that, in the earliest times, they were Deists ; and, when they, afterwards, taught superstition, they preached, not the doctrine they believed, but the doctrine they were to live by ; because they were sensible that systems, and ceremonies would afford a more abundant crop to the priesthood, than a religion, which, instead of wanting, despises the foppery of both. If I said that the Egyptians were, originally, Deists, I am justified in it by ^d Lactantius, whose words I shall quote at length. In speaking of Thot, or Thoth, whom we find by Sanchoniathon in ^e Eusebius to have invented letters, contrary to the opinion of many divines, who have a great mind that Moses should be esteemed the inventor of them, he says, *Hic scripsit libros, et quidem multos, ad cognitionem divinarum rerum pertinentes, in quibus majestatem summi ac singularis DEI affert : iisdemque nominibus appellat,*

quibus nos, DEUM, et PATREM : ac ne quis nomen ejus requireret, ανωνυμον esse dixit, eo quod nominis proprietate non egeat, ob ipsam scilicet unitatem : Ipsius haec verba sunt, ο δε Θεος εις, ο δε εις ονομαλος & προσδεσται. εστι γαρ ο-ων ανωνυμος. Deo igitur nomen non est, quia solus est ; nec opus est proprio vocabulo, nisi cum discrimen exigit multitudo, ut unamquamque personam suâ notâ et appellatione designes ; Deo autem, quia semper unus est, proprium nomen Deus. This was the religion taught by this great Egyptian philosopher, and legislator ; in honor to whom the Egyptians called the first month of their year by his name. It is, now, impossible to know when he lived ; but, by a quotation of ^e Eusebius from Sanchoniathon, it appears that his laws were written on pillars, and copied by Mercurius Trismegistus in hieroglyphical, or hierogrammatical characters *after the flood* : Though I am much afraid that these last words, *μετα τον κατακλυσμον*, are not the words, or the sense of the words, used by Sanchoniathon. This I say, because every one, who is conversant with the manner of Eusebius, must know that he is a very unfair quoter ; and, if Sanchoniathon had given an account of the flood, we should have heard of it from him in at least as ample a manner, as the other had related it. This, however, we may gather from his quotation, that Thot lived, at least, a thousand, and nobody knows how many thousand, years be-

^d B. i. c. 6.

^e De praepar. evang. B. i. c. 9, 10.

^f Cicero De Nat. Deor. B. iii. c. 22.

^g De praepar. evang. B. i. c. 9, 10.

places are dedicated among the Greeks ; and of those, who are fabled to have lived afterwards, from whom Jupiter received the kingdom) and of Proserpina, Lucina, the Nymphs, the Muses, the Seasons, the Graces, Bacchus, and the Demigods, whose souls, after they had left their mortal bodies, are said to have ascended to Heaven, and to have obtained the same honors with the gods ; such as Hercules, Aesculapius, Castor and Pollux, Helena, Pan, and many others. But, if the founders of Rome, and the institutors of this festival had been Barbarians, what could have induced them to abandon their national gods, and genius's, and to worship all Those of the Greeks ? Or, let any one shew any other people besides the Greeks, among whom this was the established worship ; and, then, let him censure this proof, as groundless. After the procession was ended, the consuls, and the priests, to whom it was allowed, with their assistants, presently sacrificed oxen. The manner of which sacrifice was the same as with us : For, after they had washed their hands, and purified the victims with clear water, they sprinkled flower on their heads, and prayed ; and, then, gave orders to their ministers to sacrifice them : Some of whom, while the victim was yet standing, struck it on the temples with a club ; others received it, as it fell, upon knives, made for that purpose : After which, they flayed it, and cut it up,

fore Moses, in whose time, as it appears from numberless passages in the Pentateuch, the Egyptians had exchanged the noble institutions of Thot

other passage in the ^h Scripture, it also appears that even the Israelites themselves had, during their servitude in Egypt, caught the infection, and were become idolaters.

^h Joshua, c. xxiv. v. 14.

taking off a piece from each of the inwards, and from every limb, as a first offering; which they sprinkled with the flower of barley, and carried to the sacrificers in baskets: These placed them on the altars; and, making a fire under them, poured wine upon them, while they were burning. It is easy to collect from Homer's writings, that every one of these ceremonies was performed according to the customs established by the Greeks in relation to sacrifices: For he introduces the heroes both washing their hands, and using barley cakes, where he says; *Then they washed their hands, and took up barley cakes*: And, also, cutting off the hair from the head of the victim, and placing it on the fire, saying thus: *But he, beginning the sacrifice, threw the hair of the head into the fire.* He, also, represents them striking the foreheads of the victims with clubs, and stabbing them, when they were fallen, as in the sacrifice of Eumaeus:

*A knotty stake then aiming at his head,
Down dropp'd he groaning, and the spirit fled:
The scorching flames climb round on ev'ry side.*

Pope.

He says also, that they took the first offerings from the inwards, and the limbs, and sprinkled them with flower, and burned them upon the altars, as in the same sacrifice: *The swine-herd took the first offerings from all the limbs, and, wrapping them up in the fat, laid them upon the altar, while they were yet raw; then, strewing them with flower, he threw them into the fire.*

These

These things I am acquainted with, by having seen the Romans perform them, even in my time ; and, contented with this single proof, I am convinced that the founders of Rome were not Barbarians, but Greeks, assembled together from many places : It is, indeed, possible that some Barbarians, also, may perform a few customs, relating to sacrifices, and festivals, in the same manner with the Greeks ; but, that they should observe all these, is not to be believed.

LXXIII. It, now, remains for me to give a short account of the games, which the Romans performed after the procession : The first was a race of chariots, drawn by four horses in front, and by two, and of unyoked horses, as it was practised by the Greeks, anciently, at the Olympic games, and is so to this day. In the chariot races, two very ancient customs are, to this very time, observed by the Romans, in the same manner as they were, first, instituted ; one of which relates to the chariots drawn by three horses, which is, indeed, disused by the Greeks, though an ancient, and heroical institution, which Homer says the Greeks used in battle : For to the two horses that were yoked, in the same manner as when chariots are drawn by two, a third was added in front, that was fastened to the chariot by traces ; which horse the ancients called,
³⁷ Παρηγορον, *an additional horse*, because he was fastened, and

³⁷ Παρηγορον. Casaubon has a note upon this word, which le Jay has translated without taking the least notice of him. In this note, Casaubon contends that the led horses, introduced by the emperor Theophilus, and called, by the Greeks of those times,

συνεπὺς ἵππος, took their rise from the ancient Greek custom of adding a third horse in front, called παρηγορος, to the two, called ζυγιοι. It is true that this third horse was, also, called σαρκαίος : But this word, which is derived from σαρκα, has not the least analogy with
 joined

joined to the others. The other institution is the race, run by those persons, who fate with the charioteers ; which is, still, observed in a few Greek cities upon the occasion of some ancient sacrifices : For, after the horse races were ended, those, who fate with the charioteers, whom the poets call ³⁸ Παραβάλας, and the Athenians Αποβάλας, leap from their chariots, and run with one another in the stadium : So that, when the horse races were over, those, who contended in their own persons, entered the lists, that is, the foot racers, the boxers, and the wrestlers : For these were the three games in use among the ancient Greeks, as Homer shews in the funeral of Patroclus. And, in the intervals

συρλος, which is derived from συρω : The use, also, of these horses was as different as their names. The ιππος παρηγορος, or σεραιος, was fastened to the chariot, and drew with the two others : Whereas, the συρλος ιππος was no other than what we call a led horse. In ¹ Homer, the chariot of Achilles was drawn by three horses, Xanthus, Balius, and Pedasus; the last of which was the ιππος παρηγορος we are considering.

Τωδε και Αυτομεδων υπαλε ζυγον ωκεας ιππους,
Ξανθον και Βαλιον, τω αμα πνοιησι πελεσθην.

.....

Εν δε παρηγορησιν αμυμονα Πηδασον ιει.

After this, poor Pedasus is killed by Sarpedon; and, falling, puts the other two horses in disorder; but Automedon drew his sword; and, by cutting the traces of Pedasus, set every thing right again,

Σπασσαμενος τανυηκες αορπαχεος παρα μηρε,
Αϊξας απεκοψε ΠΑΡΗΟΡΟΝ ^k.

³⁸. Παραβάλας. This is, indeed, the word used by the Greek poets, or rather παραιβάλαι, for the sake of the metre; but the word is, still, the same. ¹ Homer distinguishes the παραιβάλαι from the ήνιοχοι, when he is speaking of the Myrmidons, who, by the order of Achilles,

Αν δ' εβαν εν διφροισι παραιβάλαι, ήνιοχοι τε.

The three games, presently spoken of by Dionysius, succeed the chariot race in Homer, though not, exactly, in this order; which I mention, because Glaucanus seems to think that our author supposed the chariot race to have been one of them: Whereas, nothing can be plainer than that he says these three did not begin, till the horse races were ended; τελεσθειων δε των ιππικων δρομων.

¹ Iliad π. ψ. 148.

^k Ib. ψ. 473.

¹ Iliad ψ. ψ. 132.

between

between the games, they observed a custom the most agreeable to the genius of the Greeks, and the most commendable of all others, which was, to crown the persons, and proclaim the names, of those they honoured as their benefactors (as it was practised at Athens, during the festivals of Bacchus) and expose to the view of all the spectators the spoils they had taken in war. But, concerning these things, as it would not have become me to make no mention of them, when the subject required it; so it would be improper to extend the relation farther than is necessary. It is, now, time to return to the narration we have interrupted. After the senate were informed of all the circumstances relating to the slave, who had been led to punishment by the order of his master, and had preceded the procession, by the person, who remembered what had happened upon that occasion, they concluded that this man was the unacceptable leader of the dancers, pointed out by the god, as I said; and, inquiring after the master, who had used his slave so cruelly, they punished him as he deserved; and ordered another procession to be performed in honour of the god, and other games to be exhibited, at double the expence of the former. And these were the transactions of this consulship.

The end of the Seventh book.

THE
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS.

THE EIGHTH BOOK.

THE consuls, who were chosen after these, were Caius Julius Iulus, and Publius Pinarius Rufus, who entered upon their magistracy in the seventy third Olympiad, at which Astylus of Croton won the prize of the stadium, Anchises being archon at Athens; These magistrates, who were not, in the least, warlike men, and, for that reason chiefly, had obtained the consulship from the people, were, contrary to their inclination, engaged in many great dangers; a war breaking out in their magistracy, which had like to have destroyed the commonwealth from its foundation: For Marcius Coriolanus, who had been accused of aiming at tyranny, and condemned to perpetual banishment, resenting his misfortune, and, at the same time, desiring to revenge himself upon his enemies, considered by what means, and by the forces of what nation, he might effect it; and found that the Volsci were, at that time, the
only

only people, whose power was able to encounter That of the Romans, if they could be brought to unite, and make war upon them under an able general. He concluded, therefore, that, if he could prevail on the Volsci to receive him, and to give him the command of the war, his design would easily, and presently, be brought to bear. On the other side, his hopes were checked by the consideration of the calamities he had often brought upon them in battle, and in forcing many cities to forsake their alliance. However, the greatness of the danger did not deter him from the attempt; on the contrary, he resolved to rush into these very dangers, and suffer whatever might be the consequence. Taking the advantage, therefore, of a dark night, he went to Antium, the most considerable city of the Volsci, at the time when the inhabitants were at supper; and, going into the house of a man in power, who, by reason of his birth, his riches, and his military actions, had a high opinion of himself, and, generally, led the whole nation, whose name was Tullus Attius, he became his suppliant, and 'fate down at the

ANNOTATIONS on the Eighth Book.

1. Καθεζομενος επι της ἐξιας. Casaubon has shewn great sagacity in reading *καθεζομενος*, instead of *καθεζομενε*, as it stands in all the editions; this does him the greater honor, as it is plain he had never seen the Vatican manuscript, where we find *καθεζομενος*: Casaubon justifies his correction by ^aThucydides, who, in speaking of Themistocles, when he fled to Admetus, king of the

Molossians; who, not being at home, his wife instructed him what he was to do, in order to gain the protection of her husband, says, *ὁ δὲ, της γυναικος ἐκέλης γενομενος, διδασκέσαι ὑπ' αὐτης τον παιδα σφων λαβων καθεζεσθαι επι την ἰσιαν*, or, rather, as I think, *επι της ἐξιας*. Casaubon goes on, and confirms his reading by quotations from many other authors, which I think it need-

^a B. i. c. 136.

foot of the altar consecrated to his household gods: Then, having related to him the necessity, which had reduced him to fly to his enemies, he begged of him to entertain sentiments of moderation, and humanity with regard to a person, who was become his suppliant, and, no longer, to look upon that man as an enemy, who was in his power; nor to exert his strength against the unhappy and the humbled; but to consider that the fortunes of men are not permanent. “ This, says he, you may learn, in a particular manner, “ from myself, who was, once, looked upon as the most “ considerable person in the most renowned city, and am, “ now, deserted, banished, reduced to an abject condition, “ and exposed to any treatment you, who are my enemy,

less to repeat, since we are in possession of the true reading by the assistance of the Vatican manuscript. M. *** has taken all these authorities from Casaubon verbatim, and adorned himself with his spoils, without the least acknowledgement to the bird, whose plumes he borrowed: However, I thought it a piece of justice to strip the jackdaw, and to restore the gaudy feathers to the right owner. To what I have quoted from Casaubon, I shall add a word, or two of my own, concerning the signification of the word ἑστια, because I do not think that either *focus* in the Latin, or *foyer* in the French, translators, explains the sense of it in this place: For, neither of those words signifies any thing more than *a fire*, or *a hearth*; whereas the proper signification of ἑστια was *an altar*

erected in every house to the *Dii Penates*: This is explained by ^b Cicero: *Quid est sanctius, quid omni religione munitius, quam domus uniuscujusque civium? Hic arae sunt, hic foci, hic dii Penates, hic sacra, religiones, caeremoniae continentur: Hoc perfugium est ita sanctum omnibus, ut inde abripi neminem fas sit.* This ἑστια Ulysses, in ^c Homer, calls upon to witness to the truth of what he is saying,

Ἰσὶν τ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀμυμονος, ἣν ἀφικανῶ.

Where Ἰσὶν, or ἑστια, is, very properly, explained by the Greek scholiast, ὁ βωμος τῆς ἑστιας. In this sense also, Hobbes, who, seldom, mistakes his author, has translated καθέζεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς ἑστιας in the passage I quoted from Thucydides, *and sit down at the altar of the house.*

^b Pro dom. c. 41.

^c Odyss. E. γ. 158.

“ shall

“ shall think fit to inflict upon me. But I promise you that
 “ I will perform as great services to the Volsci, if I become
 “ their friend, as I occasioned calamities to them, when I
 “ was their enemy : However, if you resolve upon my ruin,
 “ let loose your resentment at once, and grant me the
 “ speediest death, by sacrificing a suppliant with your own
 “ hand, and at the foot of your own altar.”

II. While he was yet speaking, Tullus gave him his hand ;
 and, raising him from the altar, desired he would assure
 himself that he should not be treated in a manner unworthy
 of his virtue ; and said he thought himself under great
 obligations to him for coming to his house, and shewed that
 he looked upon even This as no small honor : He pro-
 mised him, also, that he would make all the Volsci his
 friends, and begin with his own fellow-citizens : All which
 promises he made good. Soon after, Marcius, and Tullus
 conferred together in private, and came to a resolution to
 begin a war against the Romans. Tullus proposed to put
 himself, immediately, at the head of all the Volsci, and
 march to Rome, while the Romans were yet divided, and
 had unexperienced generals. On the other side, Marcius
 insisted that they ought first to lay a pious, and just foun-
 dation for the war ; and shewed him that the gods interposed
 in all transactions, particularly in Those relating to war, by
 how much they are of greater consequence than any others,
 and subject to uncertain events. It happened that there was,
 at that time, a cessation of arms, and a truce subsisting
 between the Romans, and the Volsci, and also, a treaty for
 two

two years, lately entered into between them : “ If, there-
 “ fore, you make war upon them inconsiderately, says he,
 “ and with precipitation, you will be the cause of the
 “ treaties being dissolved, and Heaven will not be propitious
 “ to you : Whereas, if you stay till they do this, you will
 “ be thought to act upon the defensive, and to punish them
 “ for their breach of treaty. How this may be effected,
 “ and by what means they may first violate this treaty, and
 “ we seem to make war upon them with piety, and justice,
 “ I have discovered, after long consideration. ² It is necessary
 “ the Romans should be deceived by us, and be led, by that
 “ deceit, first to transgress the law of nations. The manner
 “ of this deceit (which I have, hitherto, concealed in ex-
 “ pectation of a proper season to put it in practice ; but,
 “ seeing you, now, eager for action, I am forced to disclose
 “ it sooner than I proposed) is this : The Romans are going
 “ to perform sacrifices, and exhibit very magnificent games,
 “ at a great expence : At which great numbers of strangers
 “ will be present, as spectators. When this time comes, go

². Δει δε ὑφ’ ἡμῶν αἰτίας ἐξαπατηθῆναι. This is a poor subterfuge in Coriolanus, and strange advice from a man, who had, just before, said that Heaven would not be propitious to the Volsci, if they were the aggressors in the war ; as if there could be any difference between taking arms against the Romans, and circumventing them by this mean device : The end of both was the same, that is, to force the Romans into a war, and the means he employed to effect that end, was, of the two, the least honourable. But he seems throughout

to have been so far blinded by his resentment against his country, as to sacrifice every consideration to his desire of revenge : The impetuosity of this passion made him transgress the most important maxim of political morality, which renders it infamous, in the highest degree, for any man, how unjustly soever he may have been treated by his country (which, by the way, was not his case) even to assist her enemies with his counsel, much more to take arms against her.

“ thither

“ thither yourself, and ingage as many of the Volsci as you
 “ can, to go also, and see the games: And, when you are
 “ at Rome, send one of your friends you can most con-
 “ fide in, to the consuls, and let him acquaint them, pri-
 “ vately, that the Volsci have formed a design to attack
 “ the city in the night; and that it is with this view they
 “ are come to Rome in so great numbers: For you may be
 “ assured that, if they hear this, they will expel you the city
 “ without hesitation, and furnish you with a motive for a
 “ just resentment.”

III. When Tullus heard this, he was highly pleased; and, putting off the design of a present expedition, employed himself in preparing for the war. When the day, appointed for the commencement of the festival, was come, Julius, and Pinarius, having, already, entered upon their magistracy, the choicest youth of the Volsci came from every city, at the desire of Tullus, to see the games: And the greatest part of them were obliged to lie in tents set up both in the sacred, and public places; neither the houses of public entertainment, nor Those of the Romans, with whom they had an intercourse of hospitality, sufficing for their reception: And, when they walked in the streets, they appeared in bodies, and companies: So that, there was, already, a report in the city, and strange suspicions raised concerning them. In the mean time, the informer, suborned by Tullus pursuant to the advice of Marcius, went to the consuls; and, pretending that he had a secret practice to reveal to his enemies against his friends, he bound the consuls by oaths,

as

as well in regard to his own safety, as that none of the Volsci should know who had given the information against them : After which, he gave an account of the pretended treachery. The consuls gave credit to the relation, and immediately summoned all the senators, man by man ; and the informer, being brought before the senate, and, having received from them, also, the same assurances, he confirmed the account he had given. The senators had, even long before, looked upon it as a circumstance full of suspicion, that such numbers of young men should come to see the games from one nation, who were their enemies : But, by the accession of this information, the deceit of which they were strangers to, their opinion was turned into certainty. The resolution, therefore, they all came to, was, to send the men out of the city before sunset, and to order proclamation to be made, that all, who refused to obey, should be put to death ; and that the consuls should take care that, in departing, they should neither be insulted, nor exposed to any danger.

IV. After the senate had passed this order, some went through the streets giving notice to the Volsci to depart the city immediately, and that they should all go out at one gate, which was That called Capena ; while others, together with the consuls, conducted them in their departure : And, as they all went out of the city at the same time, and at the same gate, it appeared, by that means, how numerous they were, and how fit they were all for service. Tullus first went out with great expedition ; and, making a stand at a
proper

proper place, not far from the city, he received those, who came after him: And, when they were all together, he harangued them, using many invectives against the Romans, and shewed that the insult the Volscians had received from them was heinous, and inexpressible, they being the only strangers, who were driven out of Rome: He desired that every man would publish these proceedings in the cities, to which he belonged, and take proper measures to put a stop to this insolence of the Romans, by punishing them for their unwarrantable behaviour: After he had said this, and sharpened the resentment of the Volsci, who were, already, exasperated at the usage they had met with, he dismissed the assembly. When they returned home, every one related to his fellow-citizens the insult he had received, with aggravations, which inflamed all the cities to that degree they were unable to contain their resentment: And, sending to another, they appointed a general assembly of the Volscian nation, in order to consult in common concerning the war: All this was done, chiefly, at the instigation of Tullus. And the magistrates from every city, together with great multitudes of other people, assembled at Echetra (for this city seemed the most conveniently situated for a general assembly) and, after many speeches were made by the magistrates of the cities, the votes of all present were taken; and it was carried to begin the war, since the Romans had first violated the treaty.

V. After the magistrates had proposed to the assembly to consider in what manner they ought to carry on the war

against them, Tullus presented himself, and advised them to call in Marcius, and inquire of him by what means the power of the Romans might be subverted: For he knew, better than any man, both the weakness, and the strength of that commonwealth. This was approved of; and presently they all cried out to call in the man. Then Marcius, having the opportunity he desired, rose up with grief in his looks, and tears in his eyes; and, after a short pause, spoke as follows: “ If I thought you all entertained the same
“ opinion of my misfortune, I should not think it necessary
“ to make any apology for it; but, when I consider that,
“ among many men of different characters, it is probable
“ some may be possessed with an opinion, neither true in
“ itself, nor deserved by me, that the people of Rome did
“ not banish me without a real, and just cause, I think
“ myself obliged, above all things, first to clear my conduct
“ in a public manner, and before you all, from any imputation relating to my banishment: But, I conjure you,
“ by the gods, that even those among you, who are best
“ acquainted with what I have suffered from my enemies,
“ and best know that I have not deserved this misfortune,
“ will allow me to proceed, and that you will not desire to
“ be advised what you are to do, before you have inquired
“ into the character of the adviser. The account I shall give
“ of these things will be short, though I should date it from
“ their beginning. The original constitution of the Romans
“ was composed of monarchy, and aristocracy: Afterwards,
“ Tarquinius, their last king, thought fit to change the
“ govern-

“ government to a tyranny: For which reason, the leading
 “ men of the aristocracy, entering into an association against
 “ him, expelled him the city; and, taking upon themselves
 “ the administration of the public affairs, formed such a
 “ system of government, as all men acknowledge to be the
 “ best and wisest. But, not long after, that is, within three,
 “ or four years, the poorest and idlest of the citizens, excited
 “ by bad leaders, committed many insolences, and, at last,
 “ endeavoured to subvert the aristocracy. Upon this, all the
 “ leading men of the senate grew uneasy, and thought
 “ proper to consider of the means to repress the insolence
 “ of these disturbers of the government. Of all the sup-
 “ porters of the aristocracy, Appius, a man, who, on many
 “ accounts, deserves to be commended, most distinguished
 “ himself among the elder senators, as I myself did among
 “ the younger: And, upon every occasion, we spoke with
 “ freedom in the senate, not so much with a view of making
 “ war upon the people, as from a jealousy lest the government
 “ should fall into the hands of the worst citizens; neither
 “ did we desire to enslave any of the Romans, but to pre-
 “ serve the liberty of all, and that the power might be re-
 “ stored to the best men.

VI. “ This being observed by those most pernicious
 “ leaders of the people, they resolved to remove us two,
 “ who most professedly opposed them, first out of their way,
 “ not by attacking us both at once, lest the attempt should
 “ appear both invidious and odious, but to begin with me,
 “ who was the younger, and the easier to be oppressed.

“ In the first place therefore, they endeavoured to destroy
 “ me without a trial ; and, after that, they required to have
 “ me delivered up by the senate in order to be put to death :
 “ But, being disappointed in both, they summoned me to
 “ a trial, in which they themselves were to be my judges,
 “ and charged me with aiming at tyranny : They did
 “ not consider that tyrants never make war upon the
 “ people in conjunction with the best men ; but, on the
 “ contrary, destroy the best men in conjunction with the
 “ people : Neither did they suffer the people assembled in
 “ their centuries to be my judges, according to the esta-
 “ blished custom, but appointed such an assembly to try me,
 “ as all allow to consist of the most profligate judges, a
 “ tribunal erected against me, and me alone, in which
 “ labourers, vagabonds, and those, who form designs
 “ against the possessions of others, were sure to prevail over
 “ good and just men, and such as aim at the safety of
 “ the commonwealth. And so far was I from appearing
 “ guilty of any crime, that, though tried by the populace,
 “ of which the greatest part were enemies to virtue, and,
 “ for that reason, to me, I was ³ condemned by two votes
 “ only, while the tribunes threatened to resign their power,
 “ if I was acquitted, alledging that they expected the

3. Δυοι μονον εαλων ψηφοις. Marcius, like an able orator, artfully extenuates the number of votes, that condemned him, and yet advances nothing, that is not literally true : For, though nine votes only acquitted, and thirteen condemned, him, yet it is true that, if two of those thirteen votes had come over

to him, there would, then, have been eleven for him, and as many against him, and, consequently, as our author has already told us, he would have been acquitted by reason of the equality of votes, as the law required. See the twenty sixth annotation on the seventh book.

“ worst

“ worst of treatment from me, and, with all eagerness and
 “ passion, pressed my condemnation. After I had been thus
 “ treated by my fellow-citizens, I thought my future life
 “ would prove a scene of misery to me, unless I took re-
 “ venge on them: And, for this reason, when I was at
 “ liberty to live, with ease, either in any of the Latin cities
 “ I thought fit by reason of our consanguinity, or in the
 “ colonies lately planted by our fathers, I declined it; and
 “ chose rather to fly to you, whom I knew to have received
 “ the greatest injuries from the Romans, and to entertain
 “ the greatest resentment against them; to the end that, in
 “ conjunction with you, I might take revenge on them to
 “ the utmost of my power both by my words, where words
 “ were wanted, and, by my actions, where they were so.
 “ And I think myself much obliged to you for the reception
 “ you have given me, and still more for the honor you shew
 “ me, without either resenting, or considering, the mischiefs
 “ you received from me during the wars.

VII. “ What character, then, should I deserve, if, deprived
 “ as I am of the glory, and honors I ought to have received
 “ from my fellow-citizens, to whom I have rendered great
 “ services, and, besides, driven away from my country, my
 “ family, my friends, from the gods, and sepulchres of my
 “ ancestors, and from every other enjoyment; and if, finding
 “ all these among you, whom I have made war against for
 “ their sake, I should not annoy those, who have behaved
 “ themselves to me like enemies, instead of fellow-citizens,
 “ and serve those, who have shewn themselves my friends,
 “ instead

“ instead of enemies? For, whoever entertains neither re-
“ sentment against those, who seek his ruin, nor affection
“ for those, who endeavour his preservation, deserves not,
“ in my opinion, the name of a man. I acknowledge not
“ that nation for my country, which has renounced me,
“ but That, of which, though a stranger, I am become a
“ citizen; nor the country, in which I have been injured,
“ as my friend, but That, in which I find my security.
“ And, if I am assisted by Heaven, and seconded by you
“ with all the alacrity I have reason to expect, I hope there
“ will be a great, and sudden change: For you know that
“ the Romans, after the experience of many enemies, fear
“ none more than you; neither is there any thing they
“ have ever fought more earnestly, than the means of weak-
“ ening your nation. And, to this end, they have possessed
“ themselves of some of your cities by force in time of
“ war, and deluded others to submit to them by vain
“ promises of their friendship, lest all of you should unite,
“ and engage in a common war against them. If, therefore,
“ you persist in your resolution of counteracting their designs
“ with vigor, and all unite in carrying on the war, as you
“ now seem determined to do, you will easily put an end to
“ their power.

VIII. “ As to the operations of the war, and your con-
“ duct in this enterprise, since, from your opinion either of
“ my experience, or affection to you, or both, you desire
“ that I should give my advice, I shall give it, without
“ concealing any thing. In the first place, therefore, I advise
“ you

“ you to confider by what means you may find a pious, and
 “ juſt cauſe of war: Hear then, what cauſe of war will,
 “ not only, be pious and juſt, but profitable to you at the
 “ ſame time: The country, which, originally, belonged to
 “ the Romans, is of ſmall extent, and barren; but That,
 “ which they have acquired by robbing their neighbours, is
 “ large and fertil: And, if each of the injured nations ſhould
 “ redemand their own, nothing would be ſo inconfiderable,
 “ ſo weak, and ſo diſtreſſed, as the Roman ſtate. Of this
 “ you ought, I think, to ſhew the example: Send, there-
 “ fore, embaſſadors to them to demand reſtitution of your
 “ cities they are in poſſeſſion of; to deſire them to evacuate
 “ all the ſtrong places they have erected in your country,
 “ and to perſuade them to reſtore every thing elſe belonging
 “ to you, which they have uſurped by force. But, commence
 “ not the war, till you have received their anſwers: For, if
 “ you follow this advice, you will obtain one of the two
 “ things you deſire; you will either acquire reſtitution of
 “ all, that belongs to you, without danger, and expence;
 “ or be furniſhed with an honourable, and a juſt cauſe of
 “ war. For, not to covet the poſſeſſions of others, but to
 “ redemand one’s own, and, not obtaining it, to declare war,
 “ will, by all men, be allowed an honourable proceeding.
 “ What reſolution, then, do you think the Romans will
 “ take, if you purſue my advice? Do you think they will
 “ reſtore the places to you? If they do, what ſhould
 “ hinder them from relinquishing every thing, that belongs
 “ to others? For the Aequi, the Albans, the Tyrrhenians,
 “ and

“ and many others will come, each to redemand their own.
“ Or do you think they will retain these places, and refuse
“ all your just demands? This is my opinion. Protesting,
“ therefore, that you have been first injured by them, you
“ will, necessarily, have recourse to arms; and you will have,
“ for your allies, all, who, having been deprived of their
“ possessions, despair of recovering them by any other means,
“ than by a war: And Fortune has prepared for the in-
“ jured an opportunity they could never have expected,
“ and, of all others, the most favourable, of attacking the
“ Romans, while they are divided, and suspect one another,
“ and while their generals are unexperienced in war. These,
“ therefore, are the things, which I thought proper to sug-
“ gest to you, as to persons I wish well to; and are delivered
“ with all affection, and sincerity. As to Those, which it
“ will be necessary to foresee, and contrive upon every occa-
“ sion, when these designs are to be carried into execution,
“ leave them to your generals: For you may depend upon
“ my zeal for your service, in whatever post you shall think fit
“ to place me; and I shall endeavour to do my duty with
“ no less bravery than any of your common soldiers, or
“ your inferior, or superior officers. Employ me, therefore,
“ wherever I may be of any use to you; and be assured
“ that, if, when I fought against you, I was able to do you
“ great mischief, when I fight on your side, I shall, also, be
“ able to do you great service.”

IX. Thus Marcius spoke: And, while he was yet speak-
ing, it was visible that the Volsci heard him with admiration.

And,

And, after he had done, they signified their approbation of his advice by loud acclamations; and, suffering no one else to speak, they confirmed it by a resolution of the assembly. After the order was drawn up, they made choice of the most considerable men out of every city, and sent them to Rome in quality of ambassadors. And, as to Marcius himself, they voted that he should be admitted into the senate in every city; be capable of the magistracy every where; and partake of all other honors, that were in the greatest request among them. And, without staying for the answer of the Romans, they all went to work, and employed themselves in warlike preparations; and every one, who had been, till then, dejected by their former defeats, grew, now, elated, in confidence of subverting the power of the Romans. In the mean time, the ambassadors they had sent to Rome, being introduced into the senate, said that the Volsci were very desirous of seeing an end put to their complaints against the Romans; and that, for the future, they might be friends and allies, without fraud or deceit: And that they should look upon the restitution of the lands, and the cities, which had been taken from them, as a sure pledge of their mutual friendship; otherwise, there could be neither peace, nor lasting friendship between them; the injured being by nature an enemy to the injurer: And they desired the Romans not to reduce them to a necessity of making war, by refusing them justice.

X. After the ambassadors had done speaking, the senators ordered them to withdraw; and held a consultation among

themselves: Then, having resolved upon the answer they were to give, they called them again into the senate, and spoke to them as follows: “ We are not ignorant, Volsci, “ that you do not seek peace, but only a specious pretence “ for war: For you come to demand those things of us, “ which you well know you will never obtain, since your “ demands are unjust and impossible. If, indeed, you had “ delivered up these places to us, and, changing your minds, “ came now to redemand them, it would have been unjust “ not to restore them; but, being deprived of them by war, “ and having, no longer, any right to them, you act unjustly “ in coveting the possessions of others. As for us, we look “ upon those acquisitions to be founded on the best title, “ that are founded on our victories. We are not the first, “ who have established this law, neither do we look upon “ it to flow from men, but from the gods. And, as “ we know that all nations, both Greeks, and Barbarians, “ make use of this law, we are resolved to relax in nothing, “ nor to relinquish any of our conquests: For it would shew “ a great want of spirit in us to lose, through fear and folly, “ what we have acquired by virtue, and valor. We neither “ force you into a war, if you do not desire it; nor deprecate “ a war, if you do: But, if you begin it, we shall defend “ ourselves. Return this answer to the Volsci; and let them “ know that they will be the first to take up arms, and we “ the last to lay them down.”

XI. The ambassadors, having received this answer, made their report to the commonwealth of the Volsci: Upon which,

which, another assembly being called, a decree passed, with the concurrence of the whole nation, to declare war against the Romans. After this, they appointed Tullus, and Marcius to command their armies with absolute authority; and voted men to be levied, money to be raised, and preparations to be made of every thing they thought necessary for the war. When the assembly was going to be dismissed, Marcius rose up, and said; “The votes of this assembly deserve
 “commendation, and let them be carried into execution,
 “each in their own time: But, while you are raising men,
 “and making other preparations, which, in all probability,
 “will employ you for some time, and create delays, Tullus
 “and I will begin the work. As many of you, therefore,
 “as are willing to plunder the enemy’s country, and to gain
 “a great booty, let them go with us. I undertake, with the
 “assistance of Heaven, to procure them many rich spoils:
 “For the Romans, observing that our forces are not yet
 “drawn together, are unprepared to receive us: So that,
 “we shall have an opportunity of overrunning as great a
 “part of their country as we please, without molestation.”

XII. The Volsci approving this proposal also, the generals marched out, immediately, at the head of a numerous army of volunteers, before the Romans were informed of their design: With part of which Tullus invaded the territories of the Latines, in order to prevent them, by this diversion, from sending any assistance to the Romans; while Marcius led the remaining part of the army into the Roman territories. As this misfortune fell unexpectedly on the inhabi-

stants of the country, many Romans of free condition were taken, and many slaves, and no small quantity of oxen, beasts of burden, and other cattle. And, as to the corn that was left standing, the iron tools, and other instruments, with which the land is tilled, some were carried away, and others destroyed: For the Volsci, at last, set fire to the country houses; so that, it would be a long time, before the owners could repair them. The possessions of the plebeians suffered most upon this occasion, while Those of the patricians remained unhurt; or, if these received any damage, it fell only on their slaves, and cattle. For Marcius had given these orders to the Volsci, with a view of encreasing the jealousy of the plebeians against the patricians, and to keep the sedition alive; which happened accordingly: For, when the Romans were informed of this devastation of their country, and that the calamity had not fallen on all alike, the poor clamoured against the rich, accusing them of having brought Marcius against them; and the patricians said in their defence, that this was some malicious artifice in the general: But neither of them put themselves in a posture, through mutual jealousies, and fear of treachery, either to succour that part of the country, which was laying waste, or to preserve That, which remained untouched. So that, Marcius had full liberty to return with his army, and to bring home all his men, after they had done as much damage as they thought fit, but suffered none, and enriched themselves with a great booty. Soon after, Tullus also arrived from the territories of the Latines, bringing with him

him a great number of spoils : For there the inhabitants, being unprepared, and the calamity falling upon them unexpectedly, were also unfurnished with an army to withstand the enemy. By this means, all the cities of the Volsci were elevated with hopes ; the army was raised, and every thing else the generals had occasion for was supplied, sooner than could have been expected.

XIII. When all their forces were assembled, Marcius consulted with his colleague concerning the future operations of the war, and said to him : “ In my opinion, Tullus, it
 “ will be best for us to divide our army into two bodies ;
 “ and that one of us take with him the ablest, and bravest
 “ of our troops, and lead them against the enemy in order
 “ to engage them ; and, if they do not decline the engage-
 “ ment, decide the contest by one battle ; but, if they
 “ are unwilling, as I think they will be, to commit the fate
 “ of the war to a new raised army, and unexperienced
 “ generals, then let him lay waste their country ; employ
 “ their allies in their own defence ; destroy their colonies,
 “ and annoy them by every other means he can : And let
 “ the other remain here, and defend both the country, and
 “ the cities, lest the enemy fall upon them unawares, if they
 “ are unguarded, and we ourselves suffer the most shameful
 “ of all disgraces in losing what we have, while we are en-
 “ deavouring to gain what we have not. It will be, also,
 “ necessary that the person, who stays here, should repair the
 “ walls of the cities that are fallen down, cleanse the ditches,
 “ and fortify the castles, to serve as places of refuge for the
 “ husband-

“ husbandmen : He should, also, raise another army ; supply
 “ the forces, that are in the field, with provisions ; prepare
 “ arms, and furnish, with expedition, every thing else, that
 “ is necessary. Now I give you the choice, whether you will
 “ command the army, that is to take the field, or That,
 “ which is to remain here.” While he was speaking, Tullus
 was in admiration at his proposal ; and, knowing the activity,
 and good fortune of the man, yielded to him the command of the army,
 that was to take the field.

XIV. Marcius, without losing any more time, marched with his army to the town of ⁴ Circeii, in which there was a Roman colony, who lived intermixed with the inhabitants, and made himself master of the town, as soon as he appeared before it. For, when the Circeiensis saw their country in the power of the Volsci, and their army approaching the walls, they opened their gates ; and, coming out unarmed to meet the enemy, desired them to take possession of the town. This preserved them from all irreparable mischief : For the general caused none of the inhabitants to be put to death, or expelled the city : But, having taken clothes for his soldiers, and provisions for a month, together with a moderate sum of money, he drew off his forces, leaving a small garrison in the town, as well to preserve the inhabitants from being ill treated by the Romans, as to restrain them from innovating for the future. The news of these transactions being brought to Rome, increased the tumult, and disorder ; the patricians reproaching the people with having,

⁴ Κίρκαιαν πόλιν. See the seventy fourth annotation on the fourth book.

by a false accusation, driven out of the city a great warrior, a man of activity, and of a generous spirit; and contrived to make him general of the Volsci. On the other side, the leaders of the people inveighed against the senate, and said the whole affair was a piece of treachery formed by them, and that the war was not directed against all the Romans in general, but only against the plebeians: These were supported by the most profligate among the people. But neither of them had so much as a thought of raising an army, of sending to their allies for assistance, or making the necessary preparations; by reason of their mutual hatred, and their accusations of one another, whenever the people were assembled.

XV. This being observed by such of the Romans, as were most advanced in years, they assembled together, and persuaded the most seditious of the plebeians, both in public, and in private, to put a stop to their jealousies, and invectives against the patricians. Since, they said, by the banishment of one man of distinction, the commonwealth was brought into so great danger, what were they to expect, if, by their abuses, they forced the greatest part of the patricians to entertain the same sentiments? These men appeased the disorder. After this great tumult was suppressed, the senate met, and gave this answer to the ambassadors, who were come from the commonwealth of the Latines to desire succours; that it was no easy matter for them to send assistance at present: However, that they gave them leave to raise an army themselves, and chuse their own generals, and
to

to send into the field an equal number of forces with the Romans: For, by the treaty of friendship they had made with the latter, both those things were forbidden. At the same time, the senate ordered the consuls to raise an army; to guard the city; and to call upon their allies to send them succours; but not to take the field till all things were in readiness. These resolutions were ratified by the people. By this time, the magistracy of the consuls was near expiring: So that, they could execute none of these resolutions, but left every thing half finished to their successors.

XVI. These were Spurius Nautius, and Sextus Furius, who raised as great a number of Roman citizens as they possibly could, and placed beacons, and sentries in the most convenient fortresses, to the end they might be acquainted with every thing, that passed in the country: They, also, raised money, and provided a great quantity of corn, and arms, in a short time. By this means, all their domestic preparations were in so good a posture, that nothing seemed to be wanting: But, their allies did not all obey their summons with alacrity; neither were they disposed to assist them voluntarily in the war; and the consuls did not think fit to compel them, for fear of treachery. Some of their allies had, even openly, deserted them, and joined the Volsci. The Aequi set the example of this desertion, as soon as the war was declared, by going presently to the Volsci, and entering into an alliance with them, which they confirmed by their oaths: And these sent to Marcius the most numerous army, and the best disposed to assist him. After these had begun, many
of

of their other allies, also, secretly assisted the Volsci, and sent them succours, though not by virtue of any public order, or in the name of the commonwealth; but, if any of their people desired to enter into the service of Marcius, they were so far from dissuading them from it, that they even encouraged it. So that, the Volsci had, in a short time, a more numerous army than they had ever been masters of in the most flourishing state of their affairs. At the head of this army, Marcius made another irruption into the territories of the Romans; and, incamping there for many days together, laid waste all that part of the country, which he had spared in his former expedition. However, he did not, in this inroad, take many persons of free condition: For the inhabitants had, long before, retired with every thing that was most valuable; some to Rome, and others to such of the neighbouring fortresses, as were most capable of defence. But he took all the cattle they had not been able to drive away, together with their servants, who tended them; and carried off all the corn, that lay upon the floors, and all the other fruits of the earth, whether then gathering, or already gathered. Having ravaged, and laid waste the country, none daring to encounter him, he returned home with his army, now burdened with the multitude of spoils, by gentle marches.

XVII. The Volsci, seeing the vast quantity of the spoils, that were bringing home, and being informed of the pusillanimity of the Romans, who, having, till then, been used to ravage their neighbours country, could, now, bear to see

their own laid waste with impunity, grew wonderfully elated, and conceived hopes of the sovereignty, looking upon it as an easy, and a ready undertaking to subvert the power of their adversaries. They offered sacrifices to the gods, in thanksgiving for their success, and adorned their temples, and public places with the spoils; and all passed their time in festivals, and rejoicings, in which they never ceased to admire, and celebrate Marcius, as a warrior, of all others, the most consummate, and a greater general, than Rome, Greece, or any Barbarous nation had ever produced: But, above all, they admired him for his success, seeing every thing he undertook easily succeeded according to his desire: So that, no man, who, by his age, was capable of bearing arms, declined serving under him; but all were eager to share in his actions, and flocked to him from every city. The general, after he had confirmed the zeal of the Volsci, and reduced the fortitude of the enemy to a low, and unmanly distress, led his army against the cities of their allies, who yet remained faithful to them: And, having, soon, prepared every thing, that was necessary for a siege, he marched against the ⁵ Tolerini, a Latin nation: These, having, long before, made the necessary preparations for a war, and transported all the effects they had in the country, into the city, bravely received his attacks; and stood out some time, fighting from their walls, and wounding many of the enemy; till, being driven from thence by the slingers, and fatigued

⁵ Τολερίναις. ^d *Toleria* was a city of the Latines situated near the frontiers of the Aequi.

^d Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iii. c. 4.

with a resistance, which had lasted till night, they abandoned several parts of the wall. When Marcius was informed of this, he ordered some of the soldiers to plant ladders against those parts of the walls, that were left naked; while he himself, with the chosen men of his army, ran to the gates, amidst a shower of darts, that were thrown at him from the towers; and, breaking the bars asunder, was the first who entered the city. Close to the gates stood a large, and strong body of the enemies troops: These received him vigorously, and continued the combat for a long time; till many of them being killed, the rest gave way; and, dispersing themselves, fled through the streets. Marcius followed, putting all to death he could come up with, except those, who, throwing down their arms, begged their lives: While this was doing, the men, who had ascended by the ladders, made themselves masters of the walls. The town being taken in this manner, Marcius selected such of the spoils, as were proper to be consecrated to the gods, and to adorn the cities of the Volsci, and the rest he gave to the soldiers. Many prisoners were taken, a great deal of money, and a considerable quantity of corn: So that, it was not easy for the conquerors to remove every thing in one day; but they were forced to employ much time, while they succeeded one another in carrying away some part of the spoils themselves, and the rest on beasts of burden.

XVIII. The general, after all the prisoners, and effects were conveyed out of the city, left it desolate, and drew off his forces to another town belonging to the

⁶ Bolani: These, also, had been apprized of his design to besiege them, and prepared every thing, that was necessary for their defence. Marcius, who expected to take the town by storm, made his attacks upon many parts of the wall at the same time. But the Bolani, watching a favorable opportunity, opened their gates; and, rallying out with numerous forces, and in good order, attacked the front of the enemy; and, having killed many of them, and wounded more, and forced the rest to a shameful flight, they retired into the city. When Marcius was informed that the Volsci were routed (for he happened not to be present, where this defeat happened) he came up in all haste with a few of his men; and, rallying those, who were dispersed in the flight, formed them into a body, and encouraged them: Then, placing them in their ranks, he told them what they were to do, and ordered them to attack the town at the same gates. Here, the Bolani having recourse to the same expedient, and rallying out in great numbers, the Volsci did not stand their ground; but, giving way, fled down a declivity, pursuant to the orders of their general; and the Bolani, ignorant of the stratagem, pursued them a considerable way: When they were at a distance from the town, Marcius fell upon them with a body of chosen youth: Here many of the

⁶ Βολανων. ^e *Bolae*, a city of the Aequi, as Cluver says, near the borders of the Latines, not far from Praeneste. It has, long since, been so far destroyed, that no traces of it are to be found. I look upon *Volani*, in ^f Livy,

to be an error of some late transcriber, who made use of a V, instead of a B; which mistake crept in about the time, when the Greeks, then half Barbarians, changed the power of their B, to That of a V.

^e Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. ii. c. 16. ^f B. iv. c. 49.

Bolani fell, some defending themselves, and others endeavouring to escape. Marcius pursued those, who were hastening to the town, and forced his way in, before they could shut the gates. After the general had once made himself master of the gates, the rest of the Volsci followed in great numbers. Upon this, the Bolani abandoned the walls, and fled to their houses. Marcius, having possessed himself of this city also, gave leave to his soldiers to make slaves of the inhabitants, and to seize their effects: And, after he had carried away all the booty at his leisure, and with full liberty, as before, he set fire to the town.

XIX. From thence, he marched with his army to ⁷ Labicum: This was, also, a city of the Latines; and, like the rest, a colony of the Albans. In order, therefore, to intimidate the inhabitants, as soon as he entered their territories, he set fire to those villages, the flame of which might, with the greatest ease, be discerned by them. However, the Labicani, finding themselves defended by a strong wall, were neither astonished at his invasion, nor relaxed in any respect, but made a brave resistance; and, often, repulsed the enemy, as they were scaling the walls. Notwithstanding this, they were not able to resist to the last, being but few in number, and obliged to oppose a large army without the least respite: For many attacks were made upon all parts of the city by the Volsci,

⁷ Λαβικανός. § *Labicum*, a city of the Latines, fifteen Roman miles north-east of Rome, now called *Zagaruola*. treatment from those ignorant transcribers, and is, by them, often written *Lavicum*.
This city has, also, suffered the same

§ Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iii, c. 4.

who

who succeeded one another; those, who were fatigued, always retiring, and fresh forces taking their post. Against whom the inhabitants, fighting all day, and even all night without intermission, were forced, through fatigue, to abandon the walls. Marcius, having taken this town also, made slaves of the inhabitants, and allowed his soldiers to divide the spoils. Thence, he marched to ⁸ Pedum (This, also, was a city of the Latines) and, advancing with his army in good order, as soon as he came near the walls he took the town by storm: And, having treated it in the same manner with Those he had, before, taken, he led his forces, early the next morning, to ⁹ Corbio. As he was approaching the walls, the inhabitants opened their gates; and, presenting themselves before him ¹⁰ with the marks of suppliants, delivered the town to him without striking a stroke. Marcius commended them for having taken such a resolution, as best suited their own interest, and ordered them to supply his army with what they wanted, money, and corn: And, his orders being complied with, he led his army to ¹¹ Corioli: This city, also, the inhabitants surrendered without resistance; and, as they furnished his army with provisions, and money, and every thing else they were ordered, with great cheerfulness, he marched through their territories, as through a country belonging to his allies: For he, always, took great care that

⁸ Πεδωνων. ^h *Pedum*, another city of the Latines, about seventeen miles north east of Rome. It is, now, called *Gallicano*.

⁹ Κορβιωνων. See the second annota-

tion on the sixth book.

¹⁰ Ικετηριωνων. See the seventeenth annotation on the sixth book.

¹¹ Κοριολωνων. See the fifty fourth annotation on the fourth book.

^h Cluver, *Ital. Antiq.* B. iii. c. 4.

those,

those, who surrendered their cities to him, should suffer none of the mischiefs incident to war; but should have their lands restored to them unhurt, and all the cattle, and slaves they had left in their country houses: Neither would he suffer his army to quarter in the cities, lest any mischief might happen by their rapine, or theft; but always incamped without the walls.

XX. From Corioli, he marched to ¹² Bovillae, a city, then, of note, and looked upon as one of the leading cities of the Latin nation. As the inhabitants, confiding in the strength of their works, and the number of the garrison, refused to receive him, Marcius encouraged his men to fight bravely; and, having promised great rewards to those,

^{12.} Βοῖλλας. Thus we must read the name of this city, and not Βωλας, as it stands in the editions, and manuscripts. The Latin name of this city is ¹ *Bovillae*: It stood on the Appian road, about nine Roman miles from Rome, and near three from Albanum: Here it was that the famous Clodius was killed by Milo, as famous a man in his own way. Our author has, already, told us that Marcius took *Bolae*, before he besieged *Bovillae*; and that the inhabitants of the latter, in a sally, drove the Volsci down a declivity, κατὰ τὴν πρηνεσς, which does not agree with *Bovillae*, as it was situated in a plain. After Cluver has quoted this passage from our author, he doubts, and, after him, M. *** doubts, whether we should read *Bovillae*, in this place, or in the other, instead of

Bolae. But both of them forgot that our author uses the same expression in speaking of the siege of *Bolae*; where he says of the Volsci, ἐκλιναῖτες ἐφευγον κατὰ τὴν πρηνεσς. The mention of a declivity, therefore, may be a reason for reading *Bovillae* in neither place, but can be none for transposing the names of these cities. I do not wonder at the original doubt in Cluver, who may well be supposed to have read no more of Dionysius at once, than was necessary to enable him to give an account of the cities, and places he was treating of; but, that a translator of Dionysius, who copied that doubt, should not have remembered that he read κατὰ τὴν πρηνεσς, in the page immediately preceding, if he did read it there, is very surprising.

¹ Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iii. c. 4.

who

who should first mount the walls, he began the attack, which was maintained with great vigor on both sides: For the Bovillani did, not only, repulse the assailants from the walls, but, even, threw open their gates; and, falling out in a body, forced those, who opposed them, down a declivity; and, here was the greatest slaughter of the Volsci; and the attack was drawn out to a great length, every one despairing of taking the town: But the general rendered the loss of those, who were slain, imperceptible, by substituting others in their room; and inspired with fresh courage those, who were spent with toil, by going himself to that part of the army, which suffered most: Where, not only, his words, but his actions, also, were incentives to valor: For he faced every danger, and was present at every attempt, till the town was taken. Having, at last, made himself master of this city also, and put some of the enemy he took to death upon the spot, and made others prisoners, he withdrew his forces; and, after a most glorious victory, returned laden with a great number of most magnificent spoils, and enriched his army with the vast sums of money he took in this city, where it was found in greater quantity, than in any other he had taken.

XXI. After this, all the country he marched through, submitted to him; and no city made any resistance, but ¹³ Lavinium, which was the first city built by the Trojans, who, with Aeneas, landed in Italy; and from which the Romans derive their original, as I have, before, shewn.

¹³ Lavinium. See the sixty third chapter of the first book.

The inhabitants of this city thought themselves obliged to suffer any extremity, rather than break their faith with the Romans, whom they looked upon as their descendants. Here, therefore, some brisk attacks were made upon the walls, and sharp engagements before the works : However, the walls were not carried at the first assault ; but the siege seemed to be a work of time. Upon this, Marcius gave over the attack, and drew a line of contravallation round the town, which he fortified with palisades, and placed guards upon all the roads, that neither provisions, nor succours might come to them from without. In the mean time, the Romans, being informed both of the destruction of the towns, that were already taken, and of the necessity, which had reduced others to join Marcius ; and importuned with the deputations for succours, which came to them, every day, from those, that continued firm to their interest ; and being, also, alarmed at the blockade of Lavinium, then actually formed ; and concluding that, if this place was taken, the war would, presently, be brought to the gates of Rome, thought the only remedy for all these evils, would be to pass a vote for the return of Marcius. This was the cry of the whole people, and the tribunes were desirous to bring in a law for the repeal of his condemnation ; ¹⁴ but the patricians opposed

¹⁴ ΑΛΛ' ΟΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΙ ΕΝΑΝΤΙΩΘΗΣΑΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ.
It must be owned that this behaviour of the patricians was truly great. They had employed all their power, and interest to save Coriolanus ; but, the moment he became a rebel, they opposed his return ; and, neither the distress he had, already, brought upon their

country, nor the apprehension of seeing a Volscian army elated with success under a victorious, and exasperated general at the gates of Rome, could terrify them into a compliance with the people, when these had so little resolution as to desire the repeal of his sentence.

them, being determined not to reverse any part of the sentence, which had been pronounced: And, as no previous vote was passed by the senate, neither did the tribunes think fit to propose the affair to the people. It may well be wondered what motive could induce the senate, who had, before, so warmly appeared in favor of Marcius, now to oppose the people, when they desired to recal him. Whether their intention was to sound the inclinations of the people; or to inflame their desire of restoring him by their own backwardness in gratifying it; or, possibly, to clear themselves of the accusations, with which they were charged, by shewing that they had neither given occasion to, nor been accomplices in, any of the actions which Marcius had been guilty of: For, as their deliberation was secret, it is difficult to form any conjectures relating to the motives of it.

XXII. Marcius, being informed of these things by some deserters, marched, immediately, towards Rome in a rage, leaving a sufficient number of forces to carry on the blockade of Lavinium, and incamped at a place, called ¹⁵ *The Cluilian ditches*, within forty stadia of the city. When the Romans heard of his being there, they were in great disorder, not doubting but his design was, presently, to besiege them: So that, some took arms, and ran to the walls without orders; others went in a body to the gates without any one to command them; some armed their slaves, and prepared to defend their own houses; while others seized the fortress, and the capitol, and other strong places of the city: And the women, with their hair dishevelled, ran to the holy

¹⁵ Κλουιλίας τάφρος. See the third Annotation on the third book.

places,

places, and to the temples, lamenting, and praying to the gods to avert the threatening danger. After the night was passed, and the greatest part of the following day, and none of the evils they had feared, befell them, but Marcius remained quiet, all the plebeians flocked to the forum, and called upon the patricians to assemble in the senate, and let them know that, if they did not pass the previous vote for the return of Marcius, they themselves would take such resolutions, as the sense of their being betrayed should dictate. Upon this, the patricians met in the senate, and resolved to send five persons of those, who were the most advanced in years, and the most acceptable to Marcius, to treat with him of a reconciliation, and friendship. The persons appointed were Marcus Minucius, Postumus Cominius, Spurius Lartius, Publius Pinarius, and Quintus Sulpicius, all consular senators. When they came to the camp, and Marcius was informed of their arrival, he placed himself in the midst of the most considerable among the Volsci, and their allies, where every thing, that was said, might be heard by numbers of people, and ordered the deputies to be admitted. When they came in, Minucius, who, during his consulship, had been the most active in his favor, and distinguished himself by his opposition to the plebeians, spoke first, and said as follows.

XXIII. “ We are all sensible, Marcius, that the people
 “ have treated you with great injustice in driving you out
 “ of your country under a foul accusation; and do not
 “ wonder to see you resent it, and bear your misfortune
 “ with indignation : For, by an universal law of nature,

“ the injured is an enemy to the injurer. But we wonder
“ that you do not, with a calm consideration, examine who
“ those are whom you ought to punish, and take revenge
“ on, and that you observe no moderation in punishing,
“ but involve the innocent with the guilty, and friends with
“ enemies; that you violate the inviolable laws of nature,
“ confound the duties of religion, and have even forgotten
“ who you are, from whom descended, and where you were
“ born. You see before you the most ancient of the patri-
“ cians, and the most zealous of your friends, sent by the
“ commonwealth to lay before you our defence mixed
“ with a deprecation, and to inform you upon what con-
“ ditions we desire you to be reconciled to the people;
“ and, also, to advise you to act in such a manner, as we
“ think will be most for your reputation, and advantage.

XXIV. “ I shall first speak to the point of right. The
“ plebeians, inflamed by their tribunes, conspired against
“ you; and, because they feared you, came with a design
“ to put you to death, without a trial: This act we, who
“ are of the senate, prevented, and took care that you
“ should, upon that occasion, suffer no injustice. After
“ this, the same men, who were, thus, prevented from de-
“ stroying you, summoned you to a trial, charging you with
“ having spoken ill of them in the senate. This likewise, you
“ know, we opposed, and would not suffer you to be tried
“ either for the opinion you gave, or the words you spoke.
“ Disappointed of this also, they applied, at last, to us, and
“ accused you of affecting tyranny: This charge you your-
“ self

“ self submitted to make your defence to, since you were
 “ far from being guilty of it, and consented that the people
 “ should pass judgement upon you; the senate were, then also,
 “ present, and used many intercessions in your favor. Which
 “ of these misfortunes, therefore, have we been the cause
 “ of? And why do you make war upon us, who shewed
 “ so much affection to you, during that contest? But it
 “ appears that not even all the plebeians desired your
 “ banishment: For you were ¹⁶ condemned by two votes
 “ only: So that, you cannot, with justice, be an enemy even
 “ to these, who acquitted you. But I will suppose, if you
 “ please, that all the people, by their votes, and the whole
 “ senate, by their resolutions, brought this calamity upon
 “ you, and that your hatred against us all is just; what
 “ injury have the women done to you, Marcius, that you
 “ should declare war against them? By what vote did they
 “ condemn you to banishment? What speeches did they
 “ make against you? By what injurious actions, or thoughts
 “ have our children deserved to be exposed to captivity, and
 “ to every other misfortune, if the city should be taken?
 “ You do not determine justly, Marcius, if you think you
 “ ought to hate those, who are guilty, and your enemies,
 “ in such a manner, as not to spare even those, who are
 “ innocent, and your friends: This way of thinking is
 “ unbecoming a good man. But, to omit all these things,
 “ what answer could you make, in the name of Jupiter, if

¹⁶. Δυσὶ γὰρ ἑάλως ψήφοις μοναῖς. See the twenty sixth annotation on the seventh book.

“ any

“ any one should ask you, what injury you have received
“ from your ancestors to induce you to destroy their sepul-
“ chres, and deprive them of the honors they receive from
“ men? What injury can provoke you to spoil, burn, and
“ demolish the altars of the gods, their consecrated places,
“ and temples, and not to suffer them to receive the worship,
“ that has always been paid to them? What answer could
“ you make to these things? For my part, I know of none.
“ Concerning the point of right, let these reasons be alledged
“ in favor of ourselves, of the senate, and of the other citi-
“ zens, whom, unprovoked by any injury, you desire to
“ destroy, and in favor of the sepulchres, the temples, and
“ the city, to which you owe both your birth, and edu-
“ cation.

XXV. “ Is it reasonable that all men, even those, who
“ have not wronged you, together with their wives, and
“ children should perish to gratify your revenge, and that
“ all the gods, the heroes, and the genius's, the city, and the
“ country, should suffer for the madness of the tribunes, and
“ that nothing should be exempted, nothing go unrevengeed?
“ Have you not already, sufficiently, punished us all by the
“ slaughter of so many men, the devastation of so large a
“ country with fire, and sword, the utter subversion of so
“ many cities, the abolishing the festivals, the sacrifices, and
“ the worship of the gods, and genius's, whom you have
“ deprived of their festivals, their sacrifices, and their
“ established honors: For my part, I cannot think that a
“ man, who has the least regard for virtue, ought either to
“ involve

“ involve his friends in the same ruin with his enemies, or
 “ to shew himself fierce, and inexorable in his anger to
 “ those, who have, in any degree, offended him ; particu-
 “ larly, if he has, many times, punished them with severity.
 “ These, therefore, are the reasons we had to offer you, both
 “ to excuse ourselves, and deprecate your anger in favor of
 “ the plebeians ; and these the motives, which we, who are
 “ the most dignified of all your friends, are come to suggest
 “ to you through pure affection ; and the promises we
 “ make, if you think fit to be reconciled to your country.
 “ While your power is at the greatest height, and Heaven
 “ yet favours you, we advise you to act with moderation,
 “ and use your good fortune with economy, when you con-
 “ sider that all things are subject to change, and that nothing
 “ continues long in the same situation. Eminence, when
 “ arrived to its greatest lustre, raises the indignation of the
 “ gods, and sinks, again, into obscurity : This, chiefly, hap-
 “ pens to severe, and haughty minds, which exceed the
 “ bounds of human nature. You have, now, an opportunity
 “ of putting an end to the war upon the most honourable
 “ conditions : For the whole senate are desirous to pass a
 “ vote for your return, and the people ready to repeal, by
 “ a law, the sentence of your perpetual banishment. What
 “ should hinder you, then, from seeing, once more, those
 “ persons you love, and honour most ; from being restored to
 “ your country, the thing, of all others, the most worthy to
 “ be contended for ; from governing, as you may well expect,
 “ those, who govern others ; from commanding those, who
 “ com-

“ command others, and from leaving the greatest glory to your
“ children, and posterity. We are the sureties for the im-
“ mediate performance of all these promises. It would not
“ become the senate, or people to pass a mild, or relenting
“ vote in your favor, while you are in arms, and commit
“ hostilities against us; but, if you lay down your arms,
“ the order for your return will soon be brought to you
“ by us.

XXVI. “ These will be the advantages you will reap
“ from your reconciliation : Whereas, if you persist in your
“ resentment, and are inflexible in your hatred to us, many
“ misfortunes will befall you ; of which I shall mention two,
“ as the most considerable, and the most evident : First,
“ you are infatuated with a desire to accomplish a difficult,
“ rather an impossible thing, which is, to subvert the power
“ of the Romans, and That by the arms of the Volsci.
“ Secondly, if you succeed, and accomplish your desire,
“ you will be looked upon as the most miserable of all men.
“ Hear then, Marcius, the reasons, that induce me to enter-
“ tain this opinion concerning you ; and be not offended
“ at the liberty I shall take in laying them before you.
“ Consider, first, the impossibility of succeeding. The
“ Romans, as you yourself know, abound in a numerous
“ youth of their own nation, whom (if the sedition is once
“ banished from among them, as banished it must be, pre-
“ sently, by this war ; for common fear reconciles all
“ differences) neither the Volsci, nor even any other Italian
“ nation, will be able to overcome. Great, also, is the
“ power

“ power of the Latines, and of the rest of our allies,
 “ and colonies; most of whom, you may be assured,
 “ will fly to our assistance. We have generals of the same
 “ merit with yourself, both old, and young, in a greater
 “ number than are to be found in any other city. But the
 “ greatest assistance of all, and That, which, in the most
 “ threatening dangers, has never frustrated our hopes,
 “ and is alone of greater efficacy than all human power,
 “ is the favor of Heaven, by which our city has, not only,
 “ preserved her liberty ¹⁷ near eight generations, but is be-
 “ come flourishing, and the sovereign of many nations.
 “ Neither ought you to compare us to the Pedani, the
 “ Tolerini, or the other inhabitants of the small towns you
 “ have reduced: For a general less able than yourself, and
 “ with fewer troops, might have forced places defended by
 “ small garrisons, and flight works. But consider the great-
 “ ness of our city, the lustre of her military actions, and the
 “ favor of the gods, always present to her, by which she
 “ was, from a small beginning, raised to the grandeur she
 “ now enjoys; and imagine not that the forces, with which
 “ you are undertaking so great an enterprise, are changed;
 “ but remember well that your army consists of Volsci, and
 “ of Aequi, whom the present race of our countrymen have
 “ defeated in many battles, that is, as often as they have
 “ dared to come to an engagement with us. Know then
 “ that, with troops inferior in bravery, you are going to
 “ encounter those, that are superior to them; and, with

¹⁷ Ο γδοην ήδη την νυν γενεαν. See the fourteenth annotation on the first book.

“ troops always beaten, those, that are always victorious.
 “ But, if the contrary of this was true, it would, however,
 “ be a thing to be wondered at how you, who are experienced
 “ in military affairs, should not know that those, who invade
 “ the possessions of others, are not so daring as those, who
 “ defend their own : For the former, if they succeed not,
 “ receive no damage; but the others, if they are defeated,
 “ have nothing left. And this is the chief reason, why
 “ armies, superior both in number, and goodness, are often
 “ beaten by those, that are inferior to them in both. For
 “ necessity is powerful; and every man, when his all is at
 “ stake, is inspired with a boldness, which nature had, before,
 “ denied him. I had many other things to say concerning the
 “ impossibility of your undertaking; but let these suffice.

XXVII. “ I have one consideration still to suggest to you,
 “ which, if you judge of it by reason, not passion, will, not
 “ only, gain your approbation, but, also, engage you to
 “ repent of what you are doing. What is this consideration?
 “ That the gods have never given to any mortal man the
 “ certain knowledge of future events; neither will you find,
 “ in any age, a man successful in all his undertakings, un-
 “ successful in none. For which reason, those, who excel
 “ others in prudence, the fruit of a long life, and great
 “ experience, think it reasonable, before they begin any
 “ enterprise whatever, first to consider the event of it, not
 “ only the event they wish for, but the other also, which
 “ may, possibly, happen contrary to their desire : This is,
 “ particularly, the duty of generals, as the affairs they have
 “ the

“ the conduct of are of the greatest importance ; and as
 “ all the world attributes to them the causes both of victories,
 “ and defeats : After they have, thus, considered things, if
 “ they find that the want of success will be attended with
 “ small, or few, mischiefs, or with none at all, they under-
 “ take it ; but, if with great, and many inconveniences,
 “ they abandon it. Follow their example ; and, before you
 “ engage yourself, consider what you are to expect, if you
 “ should be unfortunate in this war, and every thing should not
 “ succeed according to your desire. You will be reproached
 “ by those, who have received you, with having undertaken
 “ things impossible ; and, when our army, in return, shall
 “ march into their territories, and lay them waste (for we
 “ shall never submit to such injuries without revenging our-
 “ selves on the aggressors) you will never be able to avoid
 “ this alternative ; you will be put to death in a shameful
 “ manner, either by the Volsci themselves, as the cause of
 “ the great calamities they will have suffered, or by us,
 “ whom you designed to destroy, and enslave. But it may,
 “ possibly, happen that the former, before any mischief be-
 “ falls them, may, in order to a reconciliation, think fit to
 “ deliver you up to be punished by us ; which is a thing,
 “ that many, both Barbarians, and Greeks, when reduced to
 “ such extremities, have been obliged to submit to. Do you
 “ look upon these as small things, and not worth your con-
 “ sideration ? And that you ought to despise them, or rather
 “ to esteem them as the greatest of all evils ?

XXVIII. “ On the other side, if you succeed, what wonderful, what desirable advantage will you obtain? Or what glory will you acquire? For this, also, you ought to examine. In the first place, you will have the misfortune to be deprived of those persons, who are the dearest, and the most nearly related, to you; of an unfortunate mother, to whom you make no grateful return for your birth, and education, and for all the other trouble she underwent on your account; secondly, of a virtuous wife, who, by reason of your absence, sits in solitude, and widowhood, and laments day, and night your banishment; besides, you will be deprived of two sons, who, as they are descended from worthy ancestors, are intitled to the enjoyment of their honors, and to flourish in a flourishing commonwealth: Of the miserable, and unfortunate catastrophe of all these you will be compelled to be a spectator, if you dare to approach the walls with your army: For you may be assured that no mercy will be shewn to any of your relations by those, who are in danger of losing their own, and are treated by you with the same cruelty; but, forced by their calamities, they will inflict on them dreadful torments, cruel insults, and all other kinds of abuse: And of all these things, not the actors, but you, who forced them to act in this manner, will be the cause. These will be the pleasures you will enjoy, if your enterprise succeeds. As to the praise you will acquire, the admiration, and the honors, which all good men ought to aim at, consider of what nature they will be: You will
“ be

“ be called the parricide of your mother, the murderer of
 “ your children, the assassins of your wife, and the scourge
 “ of your country ; and no man, who has any regard either
 “ to religion, or justice, will partake of the same sacrifices,
 “ or libations with you, or live under the same roof whither-
 “ soever you go : Even those, for whose sake you do these
 “ things, will not esteem you ; but every one of them, after
 “ they have reaped some advantage from your impious
 “ actions, will detest your implacable temper. I need not
 “ put you in mind that, besides the detestation of the best
 “ men, you will be envied by your equals, and feared by
 “ your inferiors ; and, for both these reasons, exposed to
 “ treachery, and to many other mischiefs, which must, ne-
 “ cessarily, befall every man, who is destitute of friends, and
 “ resides in a foreign country. I say nothing, also, of the
 “ Furies, sent by the gods, and genius’s to punish those,
 “ who have been guilty of wicked, and flagitious actions,
 “ by whom they are tormented both in their minds,
 “ and bodies, and, after a wretched life, die a miserable
 “ death. Consider these things, Marcius ; change your reso-
 “ lution, and forget your resentment to your country ; look
 “ upon Fortune to have been the cause of all the mischiefs
 “ you have either suffered from our hands, or inflicted on
 “ us ; return with joy to your family ; and, once more,
 “ receive the most affectionate embraces of your mother,
 “ the most endearing caresses of your wife, and the most
 “ engaging tendernefs of your children ; and, by restoring
 “ yourself to your country, repay the glorious debt
 “ you

“ you owe to her, for having given birth, and education to
“ so great a man.”

XXIX. Minucius having spoken in this manner, Marcius, after a short pause, replied : “ I own myself a friend to you,
“ Minucius, and to all the rest, who are sent hither together
“ with you by the senate ; and am ready to do you any
“ service in my power ; because, even before, when I was your
“ fellow-citizen, and had a share in the administration of
“ the public affairs, you assisted me on many difficult occasions ; and, after my banishment, you did not disregard
“ me from a contempt of my then unhappy situation,
“ as if it had rendered me incapable, any longer, either to
“ serve my friends, or hurt my enemies ; but continued to
“ shew your benevolence, and friendship for me, by taking
“ care of my mother, my wife, and children, and alleviating
“ their misfortunes by your good offices : But I am an
“ enemy to the rest of the Romans, and do every thing in
“ my power to distress them, and shall never cease to hate
“ those, who, in return for the many glorious actions, for
“ which I deserved honor, drove me out of my country with
“ ignominy, as if I had been guilty of the most heinous
“ crimes against the commonwealth ; and shewed neither
“ respect to my mother, compassion to my children, nor
“ any other marks of sensibility for my misfortunes. Now
“ you are apprized of my resolutions, if you desire any
“ thing of me with regard to yourselves, make no difficulty
“ to let me know it, and be assured that you may command any thing in my power : But, concerning friendship,
“ and

“ and a reconciliation, which you desire me to enter into
 “ with the people, upon the prospect of my return, cease
 “ to say any thing. Shall I look upon it as a singular favor
 “ to return to a city, where vice receives the reward of virtue,
 “ and innocence the punishment of guilt? Let me know,
 “ in the name of the gods, for what crime have I myself
 “ experienced this misfortune? What action have I com-
 “ mitted, that is unworthy of my ancestors? I made my
 “ first campaign when I was very young, at the time we
 “ fought against the kings, who were, then, endeavouring
 “ to force their restoration. In this engagement, I saved a
 “ citizen, and slew an enemy, and was honoured by the
 “ general with ¹⁸ the crowns due to superior valor. After

^{18.} ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΟΙΣ ΣΕΦΑΝΟΙΣ. By these words, our author means the *Corona civica*; because he makes Marcius say that he received this honor as a reward for having saved a citizen, and slain an enemy. As the *Civic crown* was the most honourable of all others, the reader may not be displeased to find here some particulars relating to it. This crown was first made of a branch of the *Ilex*; afterwards, of the *Æsculus*, and, at last, of the oak with the acorns. This might be sufficient if all my readers were gardeners; but, as that may not happen to be the case, I think it necessary to shew the difference between the two first trees, and the last, with which they are, often, confounded. The *Ilex* of ^k Pliny, and the *περίκος* of Theophrastus, is the scarlet oak, which bears the scarlet grain, the *κόκκος βαφικῆς* of the Greeks, and the *Kermes* of the

Arabians, being an excrescence occasioned by the puncture of a fly, which lays its eggs there: This grain is, sometimes, used by the dyers; but was much more so, before they were acquainted with Cochineal. The *Æsculus*, called by Theophrastus, *ἡμερίς*, and, by ¹ Pliny, *Hemeris*, is the dwarf oak. Every Roman soldier, of whatever degree, was intitled to a civic crown, if he had saved a citizen, and killed an enemy; and the latter must have stood upon the same spot, where the affair happened, that day: The citizen saved must own it; otherwise, no witnesses were admitted to prove the fact; the person saved must be a Roman citizen: After the soldier had received a civic crown, he had the privilege of wearing it always: When he entered any place, where public games were celebrating, all the spectators, even the senate, rose

^k Nat. Hist. B. xvi. c. 8.

¹ Ib. c. 6.

“ that,

“ that, in every other action I was engaged in, whether of
 “ the horse, or foot, I distinguished myself in all, and, in all,
 “ received the rewards appropriated to the bravest man;
 “ neither was there any town taken by storm, of which
 “ I did not mount the walls either the first, or among the
 “ first; nor was the enemy ever put to flight, but all, who
 “ were present, acknowledged that I had been the chief cause
 “ of it; or any other signal, or brave action performed in
 “ war without the assistance either of my valor, or fortune.

XXX. “ It is possible that any other brave man also
 “ may alledge such exploits, if not so many, in his favor;
 “ but, what general, or inferior officer has reason to glory
 “ in taking any town, in the manner I took Corioli? And
 “ that the same man, the same day, defeated the enemy’s
 “ army, as I defeated That of the Antiates, who were
 “ coming to the assistance of the besieged? I shall not add
 “ that, after I had given so many proofs of my valor, when
 “ I might have received out of the spoils a large quantity of
 “ gold, and silver, of slaves, beasts of burden, and cattle,
 “ and of fertile land to a great extent, I refused them all;
 “ and, from a desire to secure myself as much as possible
 “ against envy, took only a war-horse of all the spoils;

up to do him honor: Upon those occasions, he had a right of sitting next to the senators: The soldier himself, his father, and his grandfather, were freed from all public duties. ^m *Civem servare, hostem occidere: Utque eum locum, in quo sit actum, hostis obtineat eo die: Ut servatus fateatur; aliàs testes*

nil profunt; ut civis fuerit: — Acceptâ licet uti perpetuo: Ludos ineunti semper assurgere, etiam ab senatu, in more est: Sedendi jus in proximo senatui: Vacatio munerum omnium ipsi, patrique, et avo paterno. There is something in this institution too great not to be explained, or imitated.

^m Pliny, Nat. Hist. B. xvi. c. 4.

“ and,

“ and, of all the prisoners, only one person, with whom I
 “ had an intercourse of hospitality ; and all the rest of the
 “ riches I resigned to the public. Did I, then, for these
 “ actions deserve punishment, or honor ? And to be subject
 “ to the most profligate of the citizens, or to command my
 “ inferiors ? However, it seems, the people did not banish
 “ me for these things ; but because, in the rest of my actions,
 “ I was intemperate, expensive, and irregular : But, who
 “ can name the man, who has been deprived either of his
 “ country, his liberty, or his fortune, or involved in any
 “ other calamity, to gratify my irregular appetites ? No one
 “ even of my enemies ever accused, or charged me with any
 “ thing of this kind, but all bore witness that the whole
 “ tenor of my life was irreprehensible. But, it may be said,
 “ your political principles, detested by all men, brought this
 “ misfortune upon you : For, when you had it in your
 “ power to chuse the better side, you chose the worse :
 “ And all your words, and actions, constantly, tended to
 “ subvert the established aristocracy ; and to throw the
 “ whole power of the commonwealth into the hands of the
 “ ignorant, and abandoned multitude : On the contrary,
 “ the measures I pursued, Minucius, were the very reverse
 “ of all this, and tended to maintain the senate in the ad-
 “ ministration of the public affairs for ever, and to perpe-
 “ tuate the established constitution. But, in return for these
 “ glorious measures, which our ancestors thought worthy of
 “ emulation, I have received this happy, this blessed retribu-
 “ tion from my country, in being banished, not by the people

“ only, Minucius, but, long before, by the senate, who encouraged me, at first, with vain hopes, while I was opposing the tribunes in their pretensions to tyranny, that they themselves would provide for my security ; and, upon the first suspicion of some danger from the plebeians, abandoned me, and delivered me up to my enemies. You yourself were consul, Minucius, when the senate passed the previous vote concerning my trial, and when Valerius, who advised them to deliver me up to the people, gained great applause by his speech : And I, fearing lest, if the question had been put, I should be condemned by the senate, acquiesced, and promised to appear, and take my trial.

XXXI. “ Answer me now, Minucius, whether I did not seem to the senate, also, to deserve punishment for having promoted, and pursued the best of all measures, or to the people only ? For, if you were all of this opinion at that time, and if all of you banished me, it is plain that all of you, who concurred in this, are enemies to virtue, and that there is no place in your city, where merit can be secure. But, if the senate were forced to comply with the people, and their compliance was not voluntary, but extorted by necessity, you must allow that they are under the government of the wicked, and have not the power to act in any thing, as they think fit. After this, do you desire me to return to a city thus constituted, in which the best men are governed by the worst ? You must, certainly, think me capable of committing a great folly. But, suppose I yield to your solicitations ; and, putting
“ an

“ an end to the war as you desire, return ; what sentiments
 “ shall I entertain after this ? And what conduct shall I
 “ observe ? Shall I consult my own security, and safety ;
 “ and, in order to obtain magistracies, honors, and the other
 “ advantages I think myself worthy of, submit to court the
 “ multitude, who alone have the power of bestowing them ?
 “ If I did this, I should be transformed from a good, to a
 “ bad man, and reap no benefit from my former virtue :
 “ Or shall I preserve the same character ; and, adhering to
 “ the same principles of government, oppose all, who are of
 “ a different opinion ? And is it not manifest that the people
 “ would, again, persecute me, and meditate another revenge,
 “ and make this their first charge against me, that, having,
 “ obtained my return through their indulgence, I did not
 “ flatter their passions in every measure I pursued ? This
 “ cannot be denied. Then, some other bold demagogue
 “ will spring up, like Sicinnius, or Lucius, who will accuse
 “ me of sowing discord among the citizens, of forming
 “ treacherous designs against the people, of betraying my
 “ country to the enemy, or, of affecting tyranny, with
 “ which Lucius charged me, or, of any other crime he
 “ shall think fit : For an enemy will never be at a loss for
 “ an accusation : And, to fill up the measure of my iniqui-
 “ ties, I shall soon be accused, also, of every thing I have
 “ done in this war ; that I have laid waste your country,
 “ carried off a great booty, taken your towns, slain some
 “ of those, who defended them, and delivered up others
 “ to the enemy : If my accusers charge me with these

“ things, what can I say in my defence? What assistance
“ can I rely on?

XXXII. “ Is it not, therefore, plain, Minucius, that you
“ make use of fair words, and dissimulation; and, with a
“ specious name, cover a wicked design? For, instead of
“ giving me leave to return, you lead me, as a victim, to
“ the people: Even this may be your view; for I can, no
“ longer, entertain any good opinion of you. However, if you
“ desire it, I will suppose that you do not foresee any thing
“ I shall suffer: But, what advantage shall I reap from your
“ ignorance, or folly; since it will not be in your power,
“ should you even desire it, to oppose any thing; but you
“ will be compelled to gratify the people even in this, as well
“ as in other things? I think it unnecessary, after this, to
“ employ many words, in order to convince you that I shall
“ find no security in what you call a return, but I, the road,
“ that will, quickly, lead me to destruction. Learn, now,
“ in your turn, that I can find in it neither reputation,
“ honor, nor piety, since you desire me, with great reason,
“ Minucius, to have a regard to these, but, that I shall act
“ in a most shameful, and impious manner, if I follow
“ your advice. I was an enemy to the Volsci, and did them
“ great injuries during the war, while I was acquiring so-
“ vereignty, power, and glory for my country. Was it not
“ reasonable, therefore, that I should be honoured by those I
“ had obliged, and hated by those I had injured? Certainly,
“ if reason had taken place: But Fortune has defeated both
“ these expectations, and given a contrary turn to their
“ dif-

“ dispositions: For you, for whose sake I was an enemy to
 “ these men, have deprived me of all my fortunes, and, hav-
 “ ing reduced me to the lowest condition, you cast me off;
 “ while these, who had suffered the greatest calamities from
 “ me, received into their cities this indigent, this abject
 “ man, who had been driven from his habitation, and from
 “ his country; and, not contented with this illustrious, this
 “ magnanimous action, they granted to me the rights of
 “ a citizen in all their cities, and invested me with those
 “ magistracies, and honors, that are in the greatest request
 “ among them. I omit the rest: They have, now, appointed
 “ me to command, with unlimited authority, the army they
 “ have sent out of their country, and committed to me alone
 “ the whole power of their commonwealth. What insensi-
 “ bility then should I be guilty of, if I betrayed those, by
 “ whom I have been adorned with such honors, without
 “ being provoked to it by the least injury? Unless, indeed,
 “ their favors are injurious to me, as mine are to you. I
 “ should, certainly, gain a fine reputation in the world, if
 “ I was known to be guilty of a double treachery. And
 “ who could not chuse but praise me, when they heard
 “ that, finding my friends, from whom I ought to have
 “ received benefits, to become my enemies, and my ene-
 “ mies, by whom I ought to have been destroyed, to become
 “ my friends, instead of hating those who hate me, and
 “ loving those who love me, I entertained contrary senti-
 “ ments?

XXXIII. “ Consider, now, Minucius, in what disposition
 “ the gods are to me at present, and in what disposition
 “ they will be to me, during the rest of my life, if I am
 “ prevailed upon by you to betray the trust reposed in me
 “ by these people. At present, they assist me in every
 “ enterprise I undertake against you, and I succeed in every
 “ attempt. How great a proof do you think this is of my
 “ piety? For, if I had undertaken an impious war against
 “ my country, the gods ought to have opposed me in every
 “ thing; but, since Fortune favors my arms with an au-
 “ spicious gale, and every thing I attempt is crowned with
 “ success, it is plain that I am a pious man, and that my
 “ designs are honourable. What, therefore, can I expect, if
 “ I change my conduct, and endeavour to encrease your
 “ power, and reduce theirs? Have I not reason to expect
 “ the contrary of all this, and that the gods, exasperated at
 “ my perfidy, will revenge the injured? And, as by the
 “ assistance of the gods, I have been raised from a low
 “ condition to greatness, shall I not, again, fall from great-
 “ ness to a low condition, and my¹⁹ sufferings become lessons
 “ to the rest of the world? These are my thoughts concern-
 “ ing the gods; and I am persuaded that those Furies you
 “ mentioned, Minucius, so formidable, and inexorable to
 “ the wicked, will persecute me, and torment both my soul,
 “ and body, whenever I shall abandon, and betray those,
 “ who preserved me after you had ruined me, and, at the
 “ same time they preserved me, conferred many illustrious

¹⁹ Παθήματα και δεινότης. See the thirty third annotation on the first book.

“ marks

“ marks of their favor on me, to whom I gave this assurance,
 “ to which I called the gods to witness, that I did not
 “ come among them with a design to do them any injury,
 “ and pledged that faith to them, which I have, hitherto,
 “ preserved pure and inviolate.

XXXIV. “ When, Minucius, you call those, still, my
 “ friends, who have banished me, and that nation, my
 “ country, which has renounced me ; when you appeal to
 “ the laws of nature, and display the duties of religion, you
 “ seem to be unacquainted with the most common things,
 “ and to be alone ignorant of Those, which no man else is
 “ ignorant of ; that friends, or enemies are not distinguished
 “ either by their looks, or their names, but by experience,
 “ and by their behaviour. We all love those, who do us
 “ good, and hate those, who do us harm ; this law we have
 “ not received from the institution of men, neither is it in
 “ their power to abrogate it, when they please : It is the
 “ universal, and eternal law of nature given to all, who
 “ partake of sense, and will ever continue in force. For
 “ this reason, we renounce our friends, when they injure us,
 “ and are reconciled to our enemies, when we receive some
 “ favors from them ; and we cherish the country, that gave
 “ us birth, when we receive a benefit from it ; but, when
 “ an injury, we abandon it, and are not fond of it for the
 “ sake of the place, but of the advantage we receive from
 “ it. These are not the sentiments of private men only, but
 “ of whole cities, and nations : So that, whoever follows this
 “ maxim contradicts neither the divine laws, nor the received
 “ opinion

“ opinion of all men. While, therefore, I act in this manner,
“ I look upon myself to act with justice, with advantage
“ to myself, and with honor ; and that my behaviour is, at
“ the same time, highly acceptable to the gods : Since my
“ actions are pleasing to them, I have no occasion to make
“ men judges of those actions, who judge of truth by con-
“ jecture, and opinion ; neither do I esteem the enterprize I
“ have undertaken to be impossible, since the gods are my
“ guides ; particularly, if I may be allowed to guess of the
“ future by the past.

XXXV. “ Concerning the moderation you recommend
“ to me, and that I would not, utterly, destroy the Roman
“ nation, nor subvert their city from the foundations, I
“ could answer, Minucius, that this does not belong to my
“ province, neither is this request, properly, addressed to me,
“ who am, indeed, general of the army, but these have the
“ sole power of making peace, and war : So that, you ought
“ to apply to them for a truce in order to a peace, and not
“ to me. However, I shall not give you this answer ; but,
“ from the veneration I pay to the gods of our fathers, and
“ the respect I bear to the sepulchres of our ancestors, and
“ to my native country, the compassion I feel for your wives
“ and children, who, though innocent, will suffer for the
“ errors of their fathers, and husbands, and from my regard
“ to you, who are sent hither by your commonwealth,
“ which is not the least consideration, Minucius, I shall re-
“ turn this answer : If the Romans will restore to the Volsci
“ the lands they have taken from them, and the cities they
“ are

“ are in possession of, recal their colonies, enter into a league
 “ of perpetual friendship with them, communicate to them
 “ the rights of Roman citizens, in the same manner as they
 “ have communicated them to the Latines, and confirm
 “ this treaty by oaths, and imprecations against the trans-
 “ gressors of it, I will put an end to the war. First then,
 “ make your report to them of these things, and urge to
 “ them the consideration of justice with the same energy
 “ you have represented it to me ; tell them that it is a
 “ glorious thing for every man to enjoy his own possessions,
 “ and live in peace, and highly valuable to have no enemy,
 “ no crisis to fear ; but that it is no less shameful, by grasp-
 “ ing at the possessions of others, to expose ourselves to an
 “ unnecessary war, in which we run the hazard of losing
 “ even all we enjoy ; lay before them the consequences,
 “ that attend those, who covet the territories of others,
 “ when they do not succeed, as well as when they do ; add
 “ too, if you please, that those, who desire to seize the
 “ towns of the injured, if they do not overcome them,
 “ often lose both their own territories, and their own cities ;
 “ and, besides this, see their wives exposed to the greatest
 “ indignities, their children to insults, and their decrepit
 “ parents to slavery : And let the senate know, at the same
 “ time, that they could have no reason to attribute these
 “ evils to Marcius, but to their own folly ; since, when they
 “ have it in their power to do justice, and to avoid every
 “ calamity, they chuse to hazard all from the great delight
 “ they, always, take in the possessions of others. You have

“ my answer, to which you will not prevail upon me to add
 “ any thing. Return now, and consider what you ought to do.
 “ I will allow you thirty days for your deliberation. In the
 “ mean time, to shew my regard for you, Minucius, and
 “ for the rest of the deputies, I will withdraw my troops
 “ from your territories; for they would occasion great da-
 “ mage to you should they remain here: And, on the
 “ thirtieth day, expect my return in order to receive your
 “ answer.”

XXXVI. Having said this, he rose up, and dismissed the assembly: And, the following night, decamped with his army about the ²⁰ last watch, and marched to the rest of the Latin cities (either really informed that the Romans were to receive some succours from thence, as Minucius had advanced in his speech, or, having himself caused such a report to be spread) to the end it might not appear that he had given over the war to gratify his enemies. And, having attacked a town, called ²¹ Longola, he made himself master of it without any difficulty, and treated it in the same manner he had treated the rest, by making slaves of the inhabitants, and plundering the town. Then he marched to the city of the ²² Satricani; and, having taken this, also, after a short resistance, and ordered a detachment of his army to convey the booty, taken in both these towns, to ²³ Echetra, he went with the rest of his forces to a town,

²⁰. Περὶ τὴν τελευταίαν φυλακὴν. See the sixtieth annotation on the third book.

²². Σατρικανῶν. See the sixty first chapter of the fifth book.

²¹. Λογγόλα. See the ninety first chapter of the sixth book.

²³. Ἐχέτραν. See the fifty sixth annotation on the fourth book.

called

called ²⁴ Cetia : After he had taken this place also, and pillaged it, he made an irruption into the territories of the ²⁵ Poluscani ; who, being unable to withstand him, he took their city, also, by storm : And, then advanced to the following towns ; ²⁶ Lavinium, and ²⁷ Vitellia he took by assault ; and ²⁸ Corioli by composition. Having thus made himself master of seven cities in thirty days, he returned to Rome with an army much more numerous than the former ; and incamped on the road, that leads to Tusculum, at the distance of something more than thirty stadia from the city.

²⁴. Κέτιαν. I find that ⁿ Cluver can make nothing of the name of this town ; for which reason, I shall not attempt to correct it. In all probability, the text is corrupted.

²⁵. Πολυσκανων. See the forty seventh annotation on the sixth book.

²⁶. Αλβιηλας. Sylburgius thinks, with great reason, that we ought to read Λαβινιαλας ; because, Lavinium, as we have seen, was blocked up before Coriolanus advanced so near to Rome, as the Cluilian ditches.

²⁷. Μοεγιλαιινς. I very much suspect that here is another error in the Greek text ; because I can find no such town in Italy, as *Mugilla* : And the reason given by Jac. Gronovius to prove there was such a town, is, in my opinion, very inconclusive, though M.*** has adopted it. Gronovius contends that there must have been such a town, because the *cognomen* of Lucius Papius was Mugillanus. If this is a reason, the consequence will be, that all the Roman *cognomina* were derived

from towns : But this was far from being the case, as we see by these *cognomina* ; P. Cornelius Scipio ; M. Tullius Cicero ; C. Julius Caesar, and many others. I shall, therefore, adhere to the correction of ^o Cluver, who reads Ουιτελλιαινς, instead of Μοεγιλαιινς. In this, he is supported by ^p Livy, who reckons *Vitellia* among the cities taken by Coriolanus : *Corbionem*, Vitelliam, *Trebiam*, *Labicos*, *Pedum cepit*. *Vitellia* stood on the borders of the Latines, and the Aequi.

²⁸. Κοριολανς. This cannot be the true reading ; because our author has told us that he had, before, taken *Corioli*. ^q Cluver thinks we ought to read Κωρανς. But ^r he himself, in another place, makes *Cora* to have been a city of the Volsci ; which makes it impossible that *Cora* should have been one of the towns taken by them under Coriolanus : As, therefore, I am at a loss what city to substitute in the room of Corioli, I have suffered it to remain in the text.

ⁿ Ital. Antiq. B. iii. c. 8. ^o Ib. B. ii. c. 16.

^p Ib. B. iii. c. 8.

^r B. ii. c. 39.

^q Ital. Antiq. B. ii. c. 16.

While Marcius was employed in taking, and conciliating the cities of the Latines, the Romans, after many consultations upon his demands, resolved to do nothing unworthy of their commonwealth; but, if the Volsci would depart from their territories, and from Those of their allies, and subjects, and, putting an end to the war, send embassadors to treat of friendship, the senate would pass a previous vote to settle the terms of that friendship, and lay before the people the result of their deliberations; but that, while they remained in their territories, and in Those of their allies, committing acts of hostility, they would come to no resolution in their favor: For it was, always, the great concern of the Romans to do nothing by command, or to yield to an enemy through fear; but, when once their adversaries had made peace, and acknowledged themselves their subjects, to gratify them, and yield to any thing they could, reasonably, desire. And this greatness of mind the commonwealth has preserved to this day, under many great dangers both in foreign, and domestic wars.

XXXVII. The senate having come to this resolution, appointed ten other consular senators to go to Marcius in quality of embassadors with instructions to desire him not to command any thing, that was severe, or unworthy of their commonwealth; but to lay aside his resentment, and, withdrawing his forces from their territories, to endeavour to obtain the terms he proposed by persuasion, and conciliatory language, if he desired to unite the two nations by a firm, and everlasting peace; since all treaties, both public
and

and private, that are entered into through necessity, or in subserviency to conjunctures, are soon dissolved, when the conjunctures, or the necessity ceases. The ambassadors appointed by the senate, being informed of the arrival of Marcius, repaired to him, and used many arguments to gain him, preserving, however, in every thing they said, the dignity of their commonwealth. Marcius made them no other answer than that he advised them to take some better resolution, and to return within three days; after which, the truce should expire. And, when the deputies were preparing to make some answer to this, he would not suffer it; but ordered them to leave the camp immediately, threatening, if they did not, to treat them as spies: Upon which, they withdrew in silence, and presently departed. The senate, being informed by the deputies both of the haughty answers, and threats of Marcius, did not, even then, come to a resolution of sending out an army, from a distrust either of the inexperience of their soldiers, most of them being new raised, or of the pusillanimity of the consuls; as these had not the least share of activity: For which reasons, they thought it dangerous to hazard a battle of so great consequence. It is possible also, that the gods, the auspices, the Sibylline books, or some received scruples of religion may have deterred them from it; which the men of that age did not think fit to neglect, like Those of this: However, they resolved to guard the city with greater caution, and to defend themselves from their works, whenever they should be attacked.

XXXVIII. While they were employed in these preparations, and had not yet given over all hopes of prevailing on Marcius to relent, if they sent ambassadors of greater weight, and dignity to intercede for them, they resolved to depute the pontifs, the augurs, and all the rest, who were invested with any holy dignity, or public ministry relating to divine worship: There being among them great numbers of priests, and ministers of religion, who are the most distinguished of all others on account both of their families, and their own virtues; and that these should carry with them the symbols of the gods, whose rites, and worship they performed, and go in a body to the enemy's camp, clad in their priestly garments, and use the same intreaties with the former deputies. After they were arrived, and had acquainted Marcius with the instructions they had received from the senate, he made no other answer even to these, than to give them notice either to depart, and obey his commands, if they desired peace, or to expect the war at their gates: And forbid any application to him for the future. When the Romans found themselves disappointed in this attempt also, they absolutely despaired of peace, and prepared for a siege, disposing the ablest of their men near the ditch, and at the gates; and those, who were discharged from the service, but not yet incapable of bearing the fatigues of war, they placed upon the walls.

XXXIX. In the mean time, their wives, seeing the danger at hand, and forgetting the decency of domestic retirement, ran to the temples of the gods with lamentations, and
threw

threw themselves at the feet of their statues: And every holy place, particularly the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, was filled with the cries, and supplications of the women. Then it was that one of them, by name Valeria, a lady distinguished by her birth, and dignity, and indued with the greatest prudence, the effect of her age, and sister to Poplicola, one of those, who freed the commonwealth from the tyranny of their kings, moved by some divine impulse, placed herself upon the upper landing of the stairs, that lead to the temple; and, calling the rest of the women to her, she first comforted, and encouraged them, desiring they would not be astonished at the danger, that threatened them: She then assured them there was one hope left to preserve their country, which was placed in them alone, if they would do their duty: Upon this, one of them said; “ And what can we women do to save our
 “ country, when the men have given it up for lost? What
 “ strength so great are we weak, and miserable women
 “ possessed of?” “ We have no occasion for arms, or
 “ strength, replied Valeria (for nature has excused us from
 “ the use of these) but for zeal, and eloquence.” And all crying out, and begging of her to explain what assistance she meant, Valeria said; “ Let us go to the house of Ve-
 “ turia, the mother of Marcius, in this mourning, and
 “ negligent apparel, and take with us the rest of the women,
 “ and their children; and, placing these at her feet, let us
 “ intreat her with tears to have compassion both of us, who
 “ have given her no cause of grief, and of her country,
 “ now

“ now exposed to the greatest danger ; and that she will
“ go to the enemy’s camp with her grandchildren, and
“ their mother, and take us all with her (for we must attend
“ her with the children) and, making supplication to her
“ son, beg and conjure him not to inflict any irreparable
“ mischief on his country : For, while she is lamenting, and
“ intreating, compassion, and humanity will find their
“ way to his heart, which is not so obdurate and inexorable,
“ as to allow him to see his mother at his feet without
“ emotion.”

XL. This advice being approved of by all the women who were present, she prayed to the gods to inspire their intercession with persuasion, and the Graces ; and then went from the temple ; the others followed her ; and, after that, taking with them the rest of the women, they went all together to the house of the mother of Marcius. Volumnia, his wife, saw them coming, as she sat near her mother-in-law ; and, being surprised at their arrival, said ; “ What occasion,
“ ladies, has brought you in such numbers to an unfortu-
“ nate, and distressed family ?” Then Valeria replied ;
“ Both we ourselves, and these children, now exposed to
“ the greatest danger, fly to you, Veturia, with supplica-
“ tions, as to our only help, and intreat you, first, to take
“ compassion of our common country ; and not to suffer
“ that country, which has been hitherto unconquered, to
“ be enslaved by the Volsci ; unless, indeed, they themselves
“ should spare it after their conquest, and not endeavour,
“ utterly, to destroy it : And, in the next place, we intreat
“ you

“ you in favor of ourselves, and of these unfortunate children,
 “ that we may not be exposed to the insults of the enemy,
 “ we, who have occasioned none of the evils, that have
 “ befallen your family. If there yet remains in you any
 “ spark of a mild, and humane disposition, you, who are a
 “ woman, Veturia, have mercy on women, who, once,
 “ partook with you of the same sacrifices, and of the same
 “ rites; and, taking with you Volumnia, the virtuous wife
 “ of Marcius, and her children, and us also, who are your
 “ suppliants, with these infants in our arms, go to your son;
 “ persuade, press, cease not to intreat, and ask this one favor
 “ of him in return for many, that he will make peace with
 “ his fellow-citizens, and return to his country, that longs
 “ to receive him. Be assured that you will prevail; a man
 “ of his piety will not suffer you to lie prostrate at his feet
 “ in vain: And, when you have brought your son back to
 “ Rome, you yourself will gain immortal glory, as you may
 “ well expect, for having freed your country from so great
 “ a danger, and such an alarm; and you will cause us to be
 “ honoured by our husbands, for having ourselves composed
 “ a war, which it was not in their power to dispel; and we
 “ shall shew ourselves to be the true descendants of those
 “ women, who, by their own interposition, put an end to
 “ the war, in which Romulus, and the Sabines were engaged;
 “ and, by reconciling both the commanders, and the nations,
 “ raised this city, from a small beginning, to its present
 “ greatness. It is a glorious attempt, Veturia, to recover
 “ your son, to free your country, to save your fellow-
 VOL. III. Y y “ citizens,

“ citizens, and leave an immortal glory to posterity. Grant
“ us this favor with chearfulness, and alacrity, and hasten
“ your departure, Veturia: For the danger is swift, and
“ admits neither deliberation, nor delay.”

XLI. Having said this, and shed many tears, she was silent; and the other women lamenting also, and adding many intreaties, Veturia, after a short pause, and weeping, said; “ You fly to a weak, and slender hope, Valeria, the
“ assistance of us wretched women, who love, indeed,
“ our country, and desire the preservation of our fellow-
“ citizens, however they may deserve it; but want the
“ strength, and power to do what we desire. Marcius is
“ averse to us, Valeria, from the time the people passed that
“ severe sentence against him; and hates his whole family,
“ together with his country. This we can assure you of, as
“ of a thing we know from Marcius himself, and from no
“ other person: For, when, after his condemnation, he
“ came home conducted by his friends, and found us in
“ distress, and clad in mourning, with his children upon our
“ knees, lamenting with reason, and bewailing the unhappy
“ fate, to which the loss of him would, now, expose us, he
“ stood at a small distance; his eyes were like Those of a
“ statue, without tears, and without motion; Mother, says
“ he, and you, Volumnia, the best of women, you have lost
“ Marcius; he is expelled the city by his fellow-citizens,
“ because he was a brave man, and a lover of his country,
“ and sustained many contests for her sake; do you bear
“ this calamity, like women of worth, without descending
“ to

“ to any unbecoming, any ungenerous action ; and educate
 “ these children, the consolation of my absence, in a manner
 “ worthy both of me, and of their birth ; and, when they
 “ are grown up, may the gods grant them ²⁹ better fortune
 “ than their father, and not less virtue : Farewell ; I now
 “ depart, and leave a city, in which there is, no longer, any
 “ room for a good man ; and you, my household gods, and
 “ my paternal altar, and you genius’s, who preside over this
 “ place, farewell. After he had said this, we, unfortunate
 “ women, gave way to those lamentations, which our distress
 “ suggested ; and, beating our breasts, hung about him to
 “ receive his last embraces ; I had, then, the eldest of these
 “ his sons by the hand, and the youngest his mother carried
 “ in her arms : But he turned from us ; and, thrusting us
 “ back, said ; Marcius, from this time, shall neither be your
 “ son, mother, my country having deprived you of the sup-
 “ port of your age ; nor your husband, Volumnia, from
 “ this day, may you be happy in another, more fortunate
 “ than I am ! Neither shall I be your father, most dear.

²⁹ Τυχὴν μὲν κρείττονα τῶ πατρὶ, ἀρετὴν
 δὲ μὴ χεῖρονα. It is very ungenerous in
 the French translators to translate the
 notes in Hudson, word for word, with-
 out the least acknowledgement to the
 commentators, from whom they took
 them. This I have, often, taken notice
 of ; and am sorry they give me so fre-
 quent occasions to take notice of it.
 Here, le Jay has translated a note of
 Casaubon, who observes that our au-
 thor has imitated Sophocles upon this

occasion : Casaubon has not said in
 what tragedy of that poet these verses
 are to be found : However, they are
 in his ³ Αἶας μασιγοφῶρος, where Ajax
 says to his son :

ὦ παῖ, γένοιτο πάρος εὐτυχέστερος,
 τὰ δ’ ἀλλ’ ὅμοιος· καὶ γένοι’ ἀνὴρ κακός.

The reader will observe that this pas-
 sage of our author is very far from
 being a close imitation of Sophocles.

³ ψ. 550.

Y y 2

“ children,

“ children; but I must leave you orphans, and destitute,
 “ to be brought up by these women, till you are men.
 “ Having said this, he went out of the house alone, without
 “ taking any care of his domestic affairs, giving any orders; or
 “ saying whither he was going, without a servant, without
 “ money, and without taking from his own fortunes, wretch-
 “ ed man, enough for the support even of one day. This is
 “ the fourth year, since he was banished; and, during that
 “ time, he has looked upon us all as strangers, neither
 “ writing, nor sending to us, nor desiring to hear any thing
 “ concerning us. On a mind so formed, so hard and in-
 “ flexible, Valeria, what influence can we, by our intreaties
 “ have, from whom, when he left his house for the last time,
 “ he withheld his embraces, his tendernefs, and every other
 “ mark of affection?

XLII. “ But, if you desire even this, ladies, and are, ab-
 “ solutely, resolved to see us act this unbecoming part,
 “ imagine that I, and Volumnia, with these children, present
 “ ourselves before him: In what manner shall I, his mother,
 “ first address him? What intreaty shall I employ to my
 “ son? Tell me, and teach me what I am to say. Shall I
 “ exhort him to spare his fellow-citizens, by whom, though
 “ innocent, he was expelled his country? That he should
 “ be merciful, and compassionate to the plebeians, from
 “ whom he found neither mercy, nor compassion? That he
 “ should abandon, and betray those, who received him,
 “ when an exile; and, notwithstanding the many dreadful
 “ calamities he had inflicted on them, treated him, not
 “ with

“ with the hatred of an enemy, but with the benevolence
 “ of friends, and relations ? What sentiments must I enter-
 “ tain to desire my son to love those who have ruined him,
 “ and to injure those who have preserved him ? This is not
 “ the language of a sensible mother to her son, nor of a
 “ considerate wife to her husband. Compel us not, ladies,
 “ to desire those things of him, that are neither just with
 “ regard to men, nor pious with regard to the gods ; but
 “ suffer us miserable women to continue in the low condi-
 “ tion, to which Fortune has reduced us, without exposing
 “ ourselves, still more, by an unbecoming behaviour.”

XLIII. After she had done speaking, there was so great
 a lamentation of the women who were present, and the
 house resounded with cries so loud, that the noise was heard
 through great part of the city, and the streets, near the
 house, were filled with a concourse of people. Then Valeria
 again urged, with greater warmth, many long and affecting
 intreaties, and all the rest of the women, who had any con-
 nexion of friendship, or relation with either of them,
 continued pressing them, and laying hold on their knees :
 So that, Veturia, unable to resist their lamentations, and
 reiterated intreaties, yielded, and promised to undertake the
 embassy in favor of her country; accompanied by the wife of
 Marcius, and his children, and by as many Roman matrons,
 as were willing to join them. The ladies rejoiced exceed-
 ingly at this, and invoked the gods to accomplish their
 hopes ; then, going out of the house, informed the consuls
 of every thing that had passed : These, having commended
 their

their zeal, assembled the senate, and called upon the senators to deliver their opinions, separately, whether they ought to suffer the women to go upon this embassy. Several speeches were made, upon this occasion, by many of the senators; and they continued till the evening in great perplexity: For some alledged that, to suffer the women with their children to go to the enemy's camp, was to expose the city to no small danger; since, if the Volsci should, in contempt of the established rights of ambassadors, and suppliants, not think fit, afterwards, to dismiss them, the city would be taken without a stroke. And these advised not to suffer any other women to go, but Those, who were related to Marcius, together with his children. Others were of opinion that not even these should be suffered to go; but that they ought to keep them safe, and esteem them as effectual pledges to secure the city from any outrageous attempt of the enemy. But others advised to give leave to all the women, who desired it, to go upon this occasion; with this view, that the relations of Marcius might intercede in favor of their country with the greater dignity: And, to preserve them from all danger, they said, they would have for their sureties, first, the gods, the protectors of suppliants; and, then, the man himself, to whom they were going, whose life was pure, and free from every stain of injustice, and impiety. At last, the opinion allowing the women to go carried it, greatly to the praise both of the senate, and of Marcius: Of the first, for their prudence in forming the best judgement of this incident, and in foreseeing what would happen,

happen, without being deterred by so great a danger : And of Marcius, for his piety, who, though an enemy, was thought incapable of any thing impious towards the weak part of the city, when he should have them in his power. After the decree was drawn up, the consuls went to the forum ; and, assembling the people, it being now dark, informed them of the contents of it ; giving orders, at the same time, that all of them should, early the next morning, present themselves at the gates, to attend the women when they went out ; and assured the people they would take care of every thing, that was necessary.

XLIV. When it was near break of day, the women went with torches to the house of Veturia, leading their children ; and, taking her with them, proceeded to the gates. In the mean time, the consuls, having prepared mules, chariots, and many other carriages, conducted them a considerable way. The women were followed by the senators, and many other citizens, who, by their vows, commendations, and prayers, gave a lustre to the procession. As soon as they were discovered at a distance by those in the camp, Marcius sent some horse, with orders to inquire what multitude it was, that advanced from the city, and what was the cause of their coming : And, being informed by them that the wives of the Romans, together with their children, were coming to him, and that they were preceded by his mother, his wife, and his sons, he was, at first, astonished at the assurance of the women, in resolving to come with their children into an enemy's camp, unattended by men, without any regard to the
modesty

modesty becoming women of free condition, and virtue, which forbids them to be seen by strangers, and without apprehending the danger, which they exposed themselves to, if his soldiers, preferring their interest to justice, should think fit to make a profit, and advantage of them. But, when they approached, he resolved to go out of the camp, with a few of his men, and to meet his mother; having ordered his lictors to lay aside the axes, which are, usually, carried before generals; and, when he came near his mother, to lower the rods. This is a custom observed by the Romans, when inferior magistrates meet Those, who are their superiors, which continues to this day. In obedience to this custom, Marcius, as going to present himself before a superior power, laid aside all the ensigns of his own dignity. So great was his veneration, and piety to his parent.

XLV. When they came near to one another, his mother, first, advanced to salute him. Her mourning apparel, and her eyes swimming in tears, rendered her an object of great compassion: Whom when Marcius saw, who, till then, had shewn an insensibility, and firmness superior to all impressions of grief, he became, no longer, master of his resolution, but was hurried, by his affections, into sentiments of humanity; and, embracing her, used the most tender appellations; and, for a long time, continued weeping; and cherished, and supported her while she was fainting, and sinking to the ground: After he had satisfied his tenderness to his mother, he embraced his wife, and children, and said; “Volumnia, you have acted the part of a good wife, in
“ living

“ living with my mother ; and, by not abandoning her in
 “ her solitude, you have done me the greatest of all favors.”
 After this, he took both his children in his arms ; and,
 having embraced them with the tenderness of a father, he
 turned, again, to his mother, and begged her to let him
 know what she came to desire of him. His mother answered,
 that she would acquaint him with it in public, since she
 had nothing criminal to request of him ; and desired him
 to give her audience in the same place, in which he used
 to administer justice to the people. Marcius, willingly,
 accepted the proposal, not doubting but he should be able,
 with numberless reasons, to defeat the intercession of his
 mother ; and he looked upon it, at the same time, as an
 honourable proceeding to give his answer in public. When
 he came to the general’s tribunal, the first thing he did was
 to order the lictors to remove the seat that stood there, and
 to place it on the ground ; as thinking it unbecoming in
 him to sit in a higher place than his mother, or to make a
 shew of any power where she was. Then, causing the most
 considerable of the generals, and the other officers to sit by
 him, and permitting every one, who was willing, to be pre-
 sent, he desired his mother to speak.

XLVI. Upon which, Veturia, having placed the wife of
 Marcius, with his children, and the most distinguished of
 the Roman matrons near her, first wept, fixing her eyes on
 the ground for a considerable time, and raised great com-
 passion in all present ; then, recovering herself, she said ;
 “ These ladies, Marcius, my son, alarmed at the insults, and

“ every other calamity they will be exposed to, if the enemy
“ shall become masters of Rome, and despairing of all other
“ assistance, since you gave haughty, and severe answers
“ to their husbands when they desired peace, accompanied
“ with their children, and dressed in this mourning apparel,
“ have fled for refuge to me your mother, and to Volumnia
“ your wife; and intreated us not to suffer them to be
“ afflicted with the greatest of all human evils by your
“ means, since they have never done us the least injury;
“ but, on the contrary, have shewn great benevolence to us
“ in our prosperity, and compassion in our adversity: For
“ we can testify in their favor that, since your departure,
“ when we were left desolate, and reduced to the lowest
“ condition, they, constantly, visited us under our misfortunes,
“ and condoled with us: In remembrance, therefore, of
“ these things, neither did I myself, nor your wife, who lives
“ with me, reject their supplication; but, as they desired,
“ we submitted to come to you, and intercede in favor of
“ our country.”

XLVII. While she was yet speaking, Marcius interrupted her, and said; “ Mother, you are come to desire impossibilities, in requiring me to betray to those, who have driven
“ me out of their country, a nation, that has received me;
“ and, to those, who have deprived me of all my fortunes,
“ a people, who have conferred on me the greatest of human
“ advantages; and to whom, when I accepted this command, I gave my faith, and called upon the gods, and
“ genius’s, as sureties for my sincerity, that I would
“ neither

“ neither betray their commonwealth, nor make peace
 “ without the consent of the whole nation. Induced, there-
 “ fore, by the veneration I pay to the gods, by whom I
 “ have sworn, and by the respect I bear to the men, to
 “ whom I have pledged my faith, I shall continue to make
 “ war upon the Romans to the last: But, if they will restore
 “ to the Volsci the lands, of which they have possessed
 “ themselves by force, receive them into the number of their
 “ friends, and communicate to them the same equality of
 “ all rights they have conferred on the Latines, I will
 “ put an end to the war; otherwise, not. Return, therefore,
 “ ladies, and acquaint your husbands with these things, and
 “ persuade them not to take delight in the unjust possession
 “ of what belongs to others; but to be contented, if they
 “ are suffered to enjoy their own; nor, in confidence of
 “ their having possessed themselves of the Volscian territories
 “ by arms, to stay till they are again deprived of them by
 “ arms: For the conquerors will not be satisfied with reco-
 “ vering their own, but will, also, think themselves intitled
 “ to all, that belongs to the conquered. However, if they
 “ persist in their haughtiness, and resolve to run all hazards,
 “ rather than part with what they have no right to, impute
 “ to them all the miseries that will befall them, not to
 “ Marcius, to the Volsci, nor to any others. And I beg of
 “ you, mother, in my turn, your son begs of you, not to
 “ invite him to wicked, and unjust actions; not to espouse
 “ the cause of those men, who are the most implacable both
 “ to me, and to yourself; nor to look upon those, as your

“ enemies, who are your greatest friends: But live with me,
“ as it is reasonable you should, reside in the same country
“ where I reside, and in the same house; enjoy my honors,
“ share in my glory, and look upon my friends, and ene-
“ mies, as your own: Lay aside this mourning, which my
“ banishment induced you, miserable woman, to put on,
“ and cease to torment me with this habit: For all other
“ advantages have been conferred on me both by the gods,
“ and men, above my hopes, and above my wishes: But
“ the disquiet I have felt for you, whose age I have not
“ cherished in return for all your pains, has taken such pos-
“ session of my mind, as to embitter my life, and render all
“ these blessings of no use to me: Whereas, if you will
“ espouse my interest, and partake of every thing I enjoy,
“ I shall, then, want no happiness, which human nature is
“ capable of.”

XLVIII. When he had ended, Veturia, after a short pause, which lasted till the great, and iterated applauses of the assembly ceased, spoke to him as follows; “ Neither do
“ I myself desire you, Marcius, my son, to betray the Volsci,
“ who received you when an exile; and, among other
“ honors, intrusted you with the command of their army;
“ or that, contrary to your agreement, and to the oaths you
“ swore to them, when you accepted that command, you
“ should put an end to the war by your own authority
“ without the consent of the whole nation: Neither should
“ you imagine that the gods have so far deprived your mother
“ of her senses, as to make her capable of exhorting her dear,
“ and

“ and only son to shameful, and wicked actions: All that
 “ I desire of you is, that you will lay down your arms by a
 “ general consent, after you shall have persuaded the Volsci
 “ to use moderation with regard to the terms of the treaty;
 “ and to make such a peace, as shall be honourable and
 “ advantageous to both nations: This may be done, if you
 “ will make a truce for a year, and, now, withdraw your
 “ forces. In the mean time, you may, by sending, and re-
 “ ceiving ambassadors, effect a real peace, and a firm accom-
 “ modation. And be assured that the Romans will be in-
 “ duced by persuasion, and exhortation to submit to any
 “ thing, that is neither impossible, nor dishonourable: But,
 “ if you attempt to compel them, which is the method you,
 “ now, think fit to use, they will not grant any favors to you
 “ whatever, as you may learn from many other instances,
 “ but particularly, from the concessions they, lately, made to
 “ the Latines, after they laid down their arms. The Volsci
 “ are grown extremely haughty, which, usually, happens to
 “ those, who have great success; but, if you will give them
 “ to understand that any peace is preferable to war; that a
 “ voluntary agreement between friends is more lasting than
 “ concessions extorted by necessity; that it is the part of
 “ wise men, when their affairs seem prosperous, to use their
 “ good fortune with economy; and, when they are in a
 “ distressed, and unfortunate situation, to submit to nothing
 “ that is ungenerous. If you make use of these, and other
 “ arguments, calculated to inspire sentiments of humanity,
 “ and moderation, which you, who have the management
 “ of

“ of civil affairs, are best acquainted with, they will, volun-
“ tarily, descend from their present exaltation, and give you
“ power to do every thing, which you shall judge most con-
“ ducive to their interest: But, if they oppose you; and,
“ elated with the advantages they have gained by your means,
“ and under your command, as if they were always to last,
“ refuse to admit your reasons, resign the command publicly;
“ and make yourself neither a traitor to those, who have trusted
“ you, nor an enemy to those, who are nearest to you: For
“ both are impious. These are the favors I am come to ask
“ of you, Marcius, my son, which are neither impossible to
“ be granted, as you say; neither do they imply any con-
“ sciousness of injustice, or impiety.

XLIX. “ But, it seems, you are afraid, if you do what I
“ advise, of incurring the infamy of ingratitude to your
“ benefactors, who received you, when you were their enemy,
“ and communicated to you all the advantages, which their
“ natural born citizens are intitled to: For these are the
“ things you are, ever, magnifying. And have you not
“ made them many illustrious returns? And, by the instances
“ you have given them of your gratitude, which are bound-
“ less both in their extent, and number, exceeded their
“ favors? They placed their whole satisfaction, and greatest
“ happiness in being suffered to enjoy their liberty: You
“ have, not only, secured them in the possession of it, but
“ enabled them, already, to deliberate whether it is more
“ for their interest to subvert the power of the Romans, or
“ to partake of it, by forming a commonwealth, in which
“ both

“ both nations will have an equal share. I say nothing of
 “ the spoils, with which you have adorned their cities, nor of
 “ the immense riches you have bestowed upon those, who
 “ accompanied you in your expeditions. When they have
 “ been thus aggrandized by you, and raised to such pro-
 “ sperity, do you think they will not rest satisfied with the
 “ advantages they possess, but be angry with you, and ex-
 “ asperated, if you do not, also, pour out, by their hands,
 “ the blood of your fellow-citizens? For my part, I do not
 “ think so. There, yet, remains one point for me to speak
 “ to, which, if you judge of it by your reason, will have
 “ great weight with you; but, if by your passion, none:
 “ This relates to the unjust hatred you bear to your country;
 “ which was neither in a state of health, nor governed by
 “ her established laws, when she pronounced that unjust
 “ sentence against you, but distempered, and tossed in a
 “ violent tempest; neither did all the people concur in it;
 “ the worst part of them only, misled by evil leaders, de-
 “ claring themselves against you. But, if, not only, the
 “ worst of the citizens, but all the rest had concurred in
 “ your condemnation, and you had been banished by them,
 “ as a promoter of measures not of the best sort; even in
 “ that case, it did not become you to bear any resentment
 “ against your country: For the same thing has, also, hap-
 “ pened to many others, who pursued the best measures;
 “ and there are few, whose virtue, though acknowledged,
 “ has not been exposed to the unjust envy of their fellow-
 “ citizens: But all generous men bear these calamities like
 “ men,

“ men, and with moderation; and remove to other cities,
“ in which they live without giving offence to their country.
“ This was the conduct of Tarquinius, surnamed Collatinus
“ (a domestic example, and proper for you to imitate) the
“ same person, who assisted in delivering his country from
“ the tyrants; and, being, afterwards, accused of engaging
“ in the conspiracy to restore them, and, for that reason,
“ banished, he retained no resentment against those, who
“ had banished him, neither did he invade his country in
“ conjunction with the tyrants, nor suffer his actions to prove
“ the truth of that charge; but, retiring to Lavinium, our
“ mother city, he spent the remainder of his life there, and
“ continued an affectionate friend to his country.

L. “ However, let all, who have suffered great injuries,
“ be allowed not to distinguish whether those, who have
“ injured them, are friends, or enemies, but to extend their
“ anger alike to all; even in that case, have you not taken
“ a sufficient revenge on such as abused you, by laying waste
“ the best part of their country, by sacking the towns of their
“ allies, which they had acquired with great labor, and
“ reducing them, now for the third year, to a great want of
“ all necessaries? But you carry your wild, and mad revenge
“ so far, as to desire even to enslave them, and subvert their
“ city. You shewed no regard either to the persons deputed
“ to you by the senate, men of worth, and your friends,
“ who came to offer you your pardon, and leave to return
“ to your family; or to the priests, whom the common-
“ wealth sent last to you, whose age deserved respect,
“ as

“ as well as the holy garlands of the gods, which they bore
 “ in their hands ; but these, also, you rejected, and gave
 “ haughty, and imperious answers to them, as to a con-
 “ quered enemy. For my part, I cannot commend these
 “ severe, and overbearing pretensions, which exceed the
 “ bounds of human nature, since I observe that supplications,
 “ and prayers, when the injurer flies to the injured with
 “ humility, have been found out as a refuge for all men,
 “ and a deprecation of their mutual offences ; a custom
 “ established by the gods for our imitation: By those all
 “ anger is softened, and, instead of hating our enemy, we
 “ pity him : But I observe, also, that the haughty, and all
 “ who insult over the prayers of their suppliants, incur the
 “ indignation of the gods, and come to a miserable end :
 “ For the gods themselves, who first instituted, and delivered
 “ to us these laws, forgive the offences of men, and are,
 “ easily, reconciled ; and many there are, who, after they
 “ had, greatly, offended them, have appeased their anger
 “ by prayers, and sacrifices : Unless you are of opinion,
 “ Marcius, that the anger of the gods ought to be mortal ;
 “ but That of men, immortal. You, therefore, will act with
 “ justice, and in a manner that becomes you, if you also for-
 “ give the offences of your country, who repents, desires to
 “ be reconciled, and restores to you every thing she has
 “ taken from you.

LI. “ But, if you are irreconcilable to her, grant this
 “ honor, and favor to me, from whom you have received
 “ benefits not of the least value, which none else can claim,

“ and such as are of the greatest consideration, and esteem,
“ and with which you have acquired every thing else you
“ are possessed of, I mean, your body, and your mind :
“ These are debts you owe to me, which no place, no time
“ can ever deprive me of; neither can the favors of the
“ Volsci, or of all the rest of mankind, however extensive,
“ so far prevail, as to efface, and surpass, the rights of nature ;
“ but you will be ever mine; and you will owe to me,
“ preferably to all others, the favor of life, and you will oblige
“ me in every thing I desire, without alledging any excuse :
“ For this is a right, which the law of nature has prescribed
“ to all, who partake of sense, and reason. Confiding in
“ this law, Marcius, my son, I beg of you not to make war
“ upon your country ; and, if you offer violence, I oppose
“ you : Either, therefore, first, sacrifice with your own hand
“ to the Furies your mother, who opposes you, and, then,
“ begin the war against your country ; or, trembling at the
“ crime of parricide, yield to your mother, and grant, my
“ son, this favor willingly. Supported, and assisted by this
“ law, which no time has ever repealed, I do not think fit,
“ Marcius, to be alone deprived by you of the honors I am
“ intitled to under it. But, to omit this law, remember the
“ good offices you have received from me, and consider how
“ many, and how great they are : You were left an orphan
“ by your father, and an infant, when I took you under
“ my care ; for your sake, I continued a widow, and under-
“ went the trouble of bringing you up, shewing myself
“ not only a mother to you, but also a father, a nurse, a
“ sister,

“ fister, and every thing, that is most endearing. When
 “ you were a man, and it was in my power to be freed from
 “ these cares by marrying another, to breed up other chil-
 “ dren, and prepare for myself the hopes of many supports of
 “ my old age, I would not do it, but remained in the same
 “ house, and contented myself with the same course of life ;
 “ placing all my pleasures, and all my advantages in you
 “ alone : Of these you have disappointed me, partly against
 “ your will, and partly of your own accord, and have made
 “ me the most wretched of all mothers. What time have I
 “ passed, since I brought you up to manhood, without grief,
 “ or fear ? Or when had I a chearful mind on your account,
 “ seeing you, always, undertaking wars upon wars, ingag-
 “ ed in battles upon battles, and receiving wounds upon
 “ wounds ?

LII. “ But, since you had a share in the government,
 “ and in the administration of public affairs, your mother,
 “ perhaps, has enjoyed some pleasure by your means : Then
 “ was I most unhappy, seeing you deeply ingaged in a
 “ party. For those very measures, which you seemed to
 “ pursue with applause, in opposing the plebeians with so
 “ much spirit in favor of the aristocracy, filled me with fear,
 “ when I considered that ³⁰ human events stand upon a

³⁰ Τοῦ ἀνθρώπινου βίου. Both the Latin translators have rendered this, *vita humana* ; in which they have been followed by the French translators. Βίος is a word of a very extensive signification in Greek: It signifies, among

other things, *human events* ; which is the sense I have given to this passage : And in this sense it is used by ^t Thucydides; when, speaking of the Athenians after their miscarriage in Sicily, he says; εἰ δὲ τί ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ΤΟΥ ΒΙΟΥ

^tB. viii. c. 24.

“ point ; and knew, by the many instances I had heard, and
 “ seen, that some divine wrath, always, opposes illustrious
 “ men, or human envy attacks them : And the event has
 “ too well justified my prediction. The envy of your fellow-
 “ citizens ³¹ rushed on you, like a torrent, and carried you
 “ far from your country. From this time, my life (if I
 “ may call it so, since you departed leaving me desolate with
 “ these children) has been spent in this wretched condition,
 “ and in this mourning apparel. In return for all these
 “ things, I, who was never uneasy to you, nor ever shall be
 “ while I live, ask this favor of you, that you will, at last,
 “ be reconciled to your fellow-citizens, and lay aside your
 “ implacable anger against your country. The favor I ask
 “ will prove an advantage to us both, and not to me alone :
 “ For, if you hearken to me, and commit no irreparable
 “ crime, you will enjoy a mind pure, and free from all
 “ apprehensions of the divine anger ; and my life will be
 “ rendered happy by the honor I shall receive from my
 “ fellow-citizens of both sexes while I live ; and that honor,
 “ when it shall be paid to my memory, as it may well be

παραλογοις εσφαλησαν. Our author
 seems to have had a thought of ^u Ho-
 mer in his eye, though he has given
 it a different dress : After the Tro-
 jans had approached the navy of the
 Greeks with their victorious troops,
 Nestor says to Diomed,

Νυν γαρ δὴ πάντεςσιν ἐπὶ ξυρῶν ἰσάλας ἀκμῆς.
 The sense of which, Pope has, very
 well, expressed ;

*Each single Greek, in this conclusive strife,
 Stands on the sharpest edge of death, or life.*

³¹ Επὶ ῥάξας—ἀνηπαῶεν. Neither
 the Latin, nor the French translators
 have preserved the force of these words
 in their versions. They are, plainly,
 relative to a torrent ; and are the same,
 which the best Greek writers make use
 of in speaking of a torrent.

^u Il. K. v. 173.

“ expected, after I am dead, will cause my name to be for
 “ ever celebrated : And, if there is any place appointed for
 “ the reception of human souls, after they are disengaged
 “ from the body, that subterraneous, and gloomy place, the
 “ habitation, as it is said, of the unfortunate, will not receive
 “ mine, nor the field of Lethe, as it is called ; but the
 “ exalted, and pure ether, where, they say, those, who are
 “ descended from the gods, lead a happy, and a blessed life ;
 “ to whom she will relate your piety, and the favors, with
 “ which you adorned her, and, always, beg of the gods to
 “ make you some illustrious returns.

LIII. “ But, if you treat your mother with indignity, and
 “ send her away with dishonor, what sufferings you may
 “ draw upon yourself for this, I shall not pretend to say ;
 “ but I foresee nothing happy : However, this I know, that,
 “ should you, even, be fortunate in every thing else, for I
 “ will suppose this, the pain occasioned by me, and my
 “ afflictions, will persecute you, never give rest to your
 “ mind, and render your life insensible of every pleasure :
 “ For Veturia, after this cruel, and irreparable ignominy
 “ received before so many witnesses, will not bear to live a
 “ moment : But I will kill myself in the presence of all
 “ these, both friends, and enemies, and bequeath to you, in
 “ my room, a dreadful imprecation, and dire Furies to be
 “ my avengers. May there be no occasion for this, O gods,
 “ who guard the Roman empire ; but inspire Marcius with
 “ sentiments of piety, and honor : And, as, just now at my
 “ approach, he ordered the axes to be laid aside, the rods
 “ to

“ to be lowered, and his seat to be taken from the tribunal,
“ and placed on the ground ; and, of all the other ensigns,
“ that are the usual ornaments of absolute magistracy, some
“ he lessened, and others he quite removed, with an inten-
“ tion to make it manifest to all, that he had a right to
“ command others, and his mother to command him : So
“ may he, now also, make me honoured, and conspicuous ;
“ and, by remitting our common country at my request,
“ instead of the most unfortunate, render me the most
“ fortunate, of all women. If it was becoming, and lawful
“ for a mother to throw herself at the feet of her son, even
“ to this, and every other posture, and office of humility
“ would I submit, to save my country.”

LIV. Having said this, she threw herself upon the ground ; and, embracing the feet of Marcius with both her hands, she kissed them : As soon as she fell prostrate, all the women cried out together, uttering a loud, and long lamentation. Even the Volsci, who were present at the assembly, could not bear the unusual sight, but turned away their eyes. And Marcius himself, leaping from his seat, took his mother in his arms ; and, raising her up from the ground scarce breathing, he embraced her, and with many tears said ;
“ O mother, you have gained a victory, that will prove
“ fatal both to yourself, and me : For you have saved your
“ country, but ruined me your pious, and affectionate son.”
After he had said this, he went to his tent, and desired his mother, his wife, and his children to follow him ; where he passed the rest of the day in considering with them, what
was

was to be done : And the resolutions they came to were these : That the senate should lay nothing before the people relating to his return, nor these pass any vote concerning it, till all the articles of friendship, and peace should be settled with the Volsci : That Marcius should withdraw his forces, and march through the Roman territories, as through the territories of his allies : And, after he had given an account to the Volsci of his conduct in the command of their army, and displayed the services he had done them, that he should desire those, who had intrusted him with that command, by all means to admit their enemies into the number of their friends, to conclude a treaty with them founded on justice, and to commission him to take care that the terms of that treaty were equal to both nations, and not insidious : But if, elated with pride from their late successes, they rejected an accommodation, that he should resign the command. For they concluded that the Volsci would either not bear the thoughts of chusing another commander for want of a good general ; or, if they did run the hazard of giving the command of their forces to any other, their great loss would teach them to pursue such measures, as should be to their advantage. These were the subjects of their consideration, and these their resolutions ; which they looked upon to be just, pious, and reputable, the point Marcius had most at heart. But they were alarmed with a suspicion, mixed with fear, lest the thoughtless multitude, now buoyed up with the opinion of having, already, conquered the enemy, should resent the disappointment in an outrageous

rageous manner ; and, in consequence of that resentment, put him to death with their own hands, as a traitor, without giving him time to say any thing in his defence. However, they determined to submit even to this, or to any other danger still more formidable, which they might be exposed to in performing their engagement with fidelity. And, when it was near sun set, they embraced one another, and went out of the tent : After which, the women returned to the city. Then Marcius, assembling his troops, laid before them the reasons, which had induced him to put an end to the war ; and used many intreaties with his soldiers both to forgive him, and, when they returned home, to protect him from the violence of their fellow-citizens, in remembrance of the benefits they had received from him : And, having said many other things to engage them in his defence, he ordered them to prepare themselves to decamp the following night.

LV. When the Romans heard that the danger was over (for the report of it was brought to Rome before the arrival of the women) they ran out of the city with great joy to meet them ; and, embracing them, sung triumphal songs ; and all in general, and every one in particular, shewed all those signs of exultation, which men, who emerge out of great dangers to unexpected felicity, express both in their words, and actions. That night, therefore, they passed in feasts, and rejoicings. The next day, the senate, being assembled by the consuls, resolved to postpone the honors designed to be conferred on Marcius to a more proper season :

But

But ordered that praise should, immediately, be given to the women, in return for their zeal; which praise should be perpetuated to posterity by a public inscription; and such a reward, as to the women, who were to receive it, should appear most grateful and honourable. These, after consultation, resolved not to ask any invidious gift, but to desire the senate would give them leave to erect a temple to Female Fortune ³² in the same place, where they had interceded for their country; and that they might assemble, and perform annual sacrifices to her on the day they had put an end to the war. And the senate, and people decreed that an ³³ area should be purchased with the public money, and consecrated to the goddess, and that, upon it, a temple, and an altar should be erected in such a manner, as the pontiffs

³²· Εν ᾧ τὰς περὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐποιήσαντο λῆας χωρίῳ. Portus has mistaken this passage, both in his translation, and in his note referring to it, in which he reads ποιήσαντο, for ἐποιήσαντο. This Sylburgius has observed, and, with great sagacity, substituted χωρίῳ in the room of λῆας; which alteration is justified by the Vatican manuscript, though it is plain he had never seen it: Sylburgius, also, shews from a passage in Valerius Maximus, that the *templum Fortunae muliebris*, erected upon this occasion, stood near the Latin way, four miles from Rome: The words of ^w Valerius Maximus are as follows: *Fortunae etiam Muliebris simulacrum, quod est in Viâ Latinâ ad quartum miliarium, eo tempore cum aede suâ consecratum, quo Coriolanum ab excidio*

urbis maternae preces repulerunt: From this passage, Sylburgius concludes that this temple was erected *in the same place*, where the mother of Coriolanus prevailed on her son to spare his country. I agree with him that the temple was erected in the same place; but This I gather from the words of our author, not from the passage he has quoted; because, it is plain, by all the rules of Grammar, that *quo* relates to *eo tempore*, not to *quartum miliarium*. M. * * * has inserted this note of Sylburgius among his own without mentioning his name. Le Jay has translated the same note, and the same mistake.

³³· Τεμενος. See the 102^d annotation on the first book.

^w B. i. c. 8.

should direct, and sacrifices performed at the public expence ; and that a woman, to be chosen by themselves, should begin the sacrifice, and preside in this ceremony. After this decree of the senate, Valeria, who had first proposed the embassy, and prevailed upon the mother of Marcius to concur in it, was appointed priestess by the women. And these offered up the first sacrifice for the people, Valeria presiding, upon the altar raised on the area, before the temple and the statue were erected, in the month of December in the following year, on the day of the new moon, ³⁴ which the

34. Ην Ἕλληνες μὲν νεμηνίαν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ Καλάνδας καλεῖσι. The year, at that time in use among the Romans, was the Pompilian year, instituted by Numa Pompilius, which continued till Julius Caesar reformed it. This year was, properly, luni-solar ; because, though the twelve synodical months, of which it consisted, did not amount to more than 354 days, yet this defect was supplied by intercalary days, by which this lunar year was brought nearly to the solar year : The Greek year also, which, being lunar, consisted of no more than 354 days, was brought to the solar year by an intercalation of seven months in nineteen years, invented by Meton, and, from him, this luni-solar year was called Μέτωνος ἐνιαυτός. The νεμηνία, or the day of the new moon, was the first day of the month with the Greeks, and the calends the first day of the month with the Romans : These had, also, their nones, and ides ; both which were moveable, and their calends fixed :

As for example ; the nones of March, May, July, and October fell on the seventh days of those months ; which nones were, for that reason, called *Nonae septimanae* ; and the nones of all the rest of the months on the fifth days of those months, and were called *Nonae quintanae*. The ides, called so, as * Macrobius says, from the Tuscan word *iduate*, which signified *to divide*, were governed by the nones : For, as the ides were nine days after the nones, including both, when the nones happened on the fifth day of the month, the ides fell out on the thirteenth ; and, when the nones were on the seventh, the ides were on the fifteenth. By all this it appears, that the day before the nones of Quintilis (July) was the sixth of that month, as the text has been corrected by Glareanus, and Portus ; and the dedication of this temple stands in the old Roman calendar, I find, on that day, and not on the seventh, as it is in all the editions, and manuscripts. This last

* Sat. i. c. 15.

Greeks call Νεμηνίαν, and the Romans, *Kalendas*, this being the day, that put an end to the war. The year after the first sacrifice, the temple, built at the expence of the public, was finished, and consecrated, exactly, on the sixth day of the month Quintilis according to the course of the moon; this being, as the Romans compute, the day before the nones of the month Quintilis. The person, who consecrated this temple, was Proculus Virginus, one of the consuls.

LVI. It may be agreeable to the purpose of this history, and conducive to the reformation of those, who think that the gods are neither pleased with the honors they receive from men, nor displeased with impious, and unjust actions, to relate the manifestation this goddess gave of her presence at that time, not once, but twice, as it is recorded in the³⁵ books of the pontifs; to the end that those, who, religiously, adhere to the opinions they have received from their ancestors concerning the gods, may have no cause either to repent of their belief, or ever to change it; and that such, as despise the customs of their forefathers, and

reading, however, has been espoused by M. * * *, though not by le Jay: The former supports it by a very extraordinary supposition in his note upon this passage; he imagines that Dionysius found in the Latin authors, from whom he collected his history, that the temple of *Fortuna muliebris* was dedicated *ante diem nonas Quintilis*, *pour marquer le jour des nones*, which he translated, literally, into Greek. In the first place, I shall not, readily, allow that Dionysius could have met

with that expression in any good Roman writer for the nones of Quintilis: They would have rather said, I imagine, *nonis*, for the day of the nones, and *pridie nonas*, for the day before. But, whatever expression he might have found in any Roman historian, I am apt to believe that he understood the force of it, better than either that gentleman who condemns him, or I who defend him.

³⁵ Ἱεροφάντων—γράφαι. See the 234th annotation on the first book.

hold that the gods have no power over the designs of men, may, if possible, alter their opinion; but, if they are incurable, that they may become still more odious to the gods, and, consequently, more miserable. It is recorded, therefore, that the senate having ordered that the whole expence both of the temple, and of the statue, should be defrayed by the public; and the women having caused another statue to be made with the money they had contributed among themselves; and both of them being dedicated together on the first day of the consecration of the temple, one of the statues, being That which the women had provided, spoke intelligibly, and loudly, in the Latin tongue, many being present: The words being translated into Greek, the sense of them is this; ³⁶ Ὅσιω πόλεως νόμῳ, γυναῖκες γαμέλαι, δέδωκά με: *Matrons, in due form have you dedicated me.* The women, who were present, as it usually happens in relation to uncommon voices, and sights, would not easily believe that the statue spoke, but took it for some human

³⁶. Ὅσιω πόλεως νόμῳ, etc. Sylburgius has given us the words supposed to have been spoken by this statue in Latin from ^y Valerius Maximus, which are these: *Ritè me, matronae, vidistis, ritèque dedicastis.* Where, *ritè*, explains Ὅσιω πόλεως νόμῳ; *matronae*, γυναῖκες γαμέλαι; and *dedicastis*, δέδωκά με. As for *vidistis*, which is not in our author, I do not think it worth while to inquire how Valerius came to insert that word in his relation of this ridiculous tale. Neither do I think it worth while to

inquire whether this is the first example in history of a speaking statue; if it is, the hint has been, since, improved to very substantial purposes: However, it is a melancholy instance of superstition, or of something worse, both in heathens, and many christians, to alledge such idle stories in proof of a Providence, when every single object in this wonderful frame of nature can supply them with a demonstration of it.

voice ; those, particularly, who happened, at that time, to be thinking of something else, and did not see what it was that spoke, would not believe such as had seen it. Afterwards, when the temple was full, and there happened to be the greatest silence, the same statue pronounced the same words in a louder voice : So that, there was, no longer, any doubt concerning it. The senate, hearing what had passed, ordered other sacrifices, and rites to be performed every year, in such a manner, as the pontiffs should direct : And the women, by the advice of their priestesses, established it as a custom that no women, who had been twice married, should crown this statue with garlands, or touch it with their hands ; but that the whole honor, and ministry relating to this statue, should be committed to new married women. But, concerning these things, it became me neither to omit a fact recorded by the Roman historians, nor to dwell any longer upon it. I, now, return from whence I digressed.

LVII. After the departure of the women, Marcius decamped with his army by break of day, and marched through the territories of the Romans, as through a friend's country : And, when he came to That of the Volsci, he divided all the booty among his soldiers, without reserving the least thing for himself, and sent them to their respective homes. The troops, who had served under him in his battles, returning loaded with riches, were not displeased with resting from the war ; and, as they loved the man, they thought he deserved to be forgiven for having desisted from prosecuting the war to the last, in compassion to the distress, and
prayers

prayers of his mother. But the young men, who had staid at home, envying the soldiers on account of the great booty they had acquired, and being disappointed in their hopes of seeing the pride of the Romans humbled, when their city should be taken, were exasperated against the general, and full of resentment; and, at last, when they found their hatred countenanced by the men of the greatest power in the nation, they grew wild with rage, and committed an impious action. The person, who contributed not a little to inflame them against Marcius, was Tullus Attius, who was supported by a great faction collected out of every city. This man, who could not command his envy, had, long since, resolved if Marcius succeeded, and, after he had destroyed Rome, returned to the Volsci, to murder him in a private, and insidious manner; or, if he miscarried, and returned without effecting his design, to deliver him over to his faction as a traitor, and put him to death; which was the method he, then, took. And, assembling a considerable number of his people, he accused the man; forming conjectures of false things by true, and of such as were never to come to pass, by those which had already happened; then ordered him to resign his command, and give an account of his conduct: For, as I said before, he was general of the forces, which had been left in the cities; and had power both to assemble the people, and to summon any man he thought fit to a trial.

LVIII. Marcius did not think proper to oppose either of these demands; but objected to their order: For he insisted that

that he ought, first, to give an account of his conduct in the war ; after which, he consented to resign his command, if all the Volsci should be of that opinion : But he thought that the determination of these points should not be committed to any particular city, of which the greatest part was corrupted by Tullus, but to a legal assembly of the whole nation, to which it was the custom for them to send deputies from every city, when they were to deliberate upon affairs of the greatest importance. This Tullus opposed ; well knowing that a man of his eloquence, when he came to give an account of the many great actions he had performed, if he still retained his dignity of general, would justify his conduct to the multitude ; and be so far from being punished as a traitor, that he would become still more illustrious, be more honoured by them, and authorized, by a general consent, to put an end to the war in such a manner, as he should think proper. This struggle lasted for a considerable time, and was carried on every day in the assemblies, and the forum, with great eagerness by words, and mutual contests : For neither of them could employ force against the other ; because both were defended by the dignity of an equal command. But, there being no end of this contention, Tullus appointed a day for Marcius to resign his command, and take his trial for the treason he stood accused of ; and, having prevailed upon some of the most daring, with the hopes of rewards, to be the ringleaders in the wicked action he meditated, he came to the assembly on the day appointed ; and, placing himself in the tribunal, used many invectives
against

against Marcius, and exhorted the people to depose him by force, if he would not, voluntarily, resign the command.

LIX. Marcius having ascended the tribunal in order to make his defence, the faction of Tullus hindered him from speaking by their clamor; and, upon their crying out, Kill him, Kill him, the most daring surrounded him, and stoned him ³⁷ to death. While he lay stretched upon the ground in the forum, both those, who had been present at this tragedy, and those, who came thither after he was dead, bewailed the misfortune of the man, who had found so ill a return from them, and recounted all the services he had done to the commonwealth, desiring to apprehend the murderers for having set the example of an action illegal in itself, and of pernicious consequence to their cities, in killing a man, and, particularly, their general, by an act of violence, without suffering him to make his defence: But those, who had served under him, shewed the greatest indignation at the usage he had met with; and since, when he was living, they had not been able to prevent his misfortune, they resolved to shew their just acknowledgement to him after he was dead, by bringing into the forum every thing, that was necessary to the honor of a brave man; and, when all things were

³⁷ Αποκλινουσαι. Livy, also, says that Coriolanus was put to death by the Volsci, in resentment for his having withdrawn his forces from the territories of the Romans; and that others give a different account of his death: But, Fabius, he says, who was by much the most ancient of their

historians, asserts that he lived to a great age; and that, when he was very old, he used, often, to say that exile was the most severely felt by an old man: ^z *Refert certe (Fabius) banc saepe eum exatâ aetate usurpasse vocem, Multò miserius seni exilium esse.*

^z B. ii. c. 40.

ready,

ready, they clothed him in the habit of a general, and placed him on a bier adorned in a most sumptuous manner; and, causing the booty, the spoils, and the crowns, together with the representations of the towns he had taken, to be carried before him, the young men, who were the most distinguished by their military achievements, took up the bier; and, carrying it to the most considerable part of the suburbs, placed it on a funeral pile, before, prepared for its reception, all the citizens accompanying the body with lamentations, and tears: Then, having killed a great number of victims in honor to him, and offered up all the first offerings that are, usually, made at the funeral piles of kings, or generals, those, who had been most attached to him, remained there, till the flame was extinguished; after which, they gathered together his remains, and buried them in the same place; and, having raised a high mound by the assistance of many hands, they erected a handsome monument.

LX. Such was the catastrophe of Marcius, the greatest general of his age: He was superior to all those pleasures that tyrannize youth; and practised justice not with reluctance, and through fear of the punishment imposed by the law, but voluntarily, and from his natural propensity to it: He did not look upon the not doing an injury to be any part of virtue; and, not only, took care to be exempt from all vice himself, but, also, thought it his duty to compel others to be so too: He was a man of great spirit, and liberality, and most ready to relieve the wants of his friends, as soon as he was informed of them: He was

inferior to none of the aristocratical party in his talents for civil affairs ; and, if the contrary faction had not opposed his measures, the Roman commonwealth would have received the greatest accession of power from them : But it was not possible for all the virtues to meet in the same composition ; neither will there ever appear a man produced from a mortal, and frail original, who is perfect in all things.

LXI. Heaven, therefore, that bestowed these virtues on him, blended them with unhappy defects, and imperfections : For there was no mildness, no cheerfulness in his behaviour ; nor any thing winning in him, when he saluted, and spoke to his acquaintance ; no disposition to be reconciled, or to mitigate his resentment, when he was angry with any one ; nor that grace, which adorns all human actions ; but he was always harsh, and severe. These qualities hurt him in many respects ; but, most of all, his immoderate, and inexorable rigor in supporting justice, and the laws, without the least mixture of clemency : And the ³⁸ opinion of the ancient philosophers seems true, that moral virtues consist

³⁸. Το ὑπο των αρχαιων λεγομενον φιλοσοφων. This is the doctrine of ^a Aristotle, which is here, I believe, alluded to, and which he explains in the following manner in his ethics : His position is, that virtue consists in the mean, *μεσότης ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρετή* : This ^b he illustrates by many examples drawn from the passions, and affections ; in all which *το μέσον*, *the mean*, is found to be virtuous, and *τα ἀκρα*, *the extremes*, to be vicious : Thus, Bravery is *το μέσον*, *the mean* ; Rashness, *ἡ*

ὑπερβολή, *the excess* ; and Cowardice, *ἡ ἐλλείψις*, *the deficiency*. Again, Liberality is the mean ; Prodigality, the excess ; and Avarice, the deficiency. Aristotle has applied this doctrine, even, to conversation, where Facetiousness is the mean ; Buffoonry, the excess ; and Rusticity, the deficiency. This is not the first opportunity I have had of shewing how great a deference our author pays to the ethics of Aristotle.

^a B. ii. c. 6.

^b Id. ib. c. 7.

in the mean, and not in the extremes, particularly justice : For she is unprofitable to her possessors, not only, when she does not arrive to this mean, but, also, when she exceeds it ; and, sometimes, the cause of great calamities, and leads to miserable deaths, and irreparable mischiefs : Nothing else but the pursuit of exact, and extreme justice drove Marcius out of his country, and deprived him of all the other enjoyments of life : For, when he ought to have made reasonable concessions to the plebeians, and might, by yielding to their desires in some particulars, have gained the first place in their affections, he would not do it ; but, by opposing them in every thing that was not just, he incurred their hatred, and was banished by them : And, when he had it in his power to resign the command of the Volscian army the moment he had put an end to the war, and to remove to any other place, till his country had granted him leave to return, and not expose himself to the snares of his enemies, and the folly of the multitude ; though he considered all this, he did not think fit to use any of these precautions ; but, esteeming it his duty to present himself before those, who had intrusted him with that command, in order to give an account of his conduct while he was invested with it, and, after he had given that account, if he was found guilty of any crime, to undergo the punishment ordained by the laws, he did not receive the reward, which his extreme justice deserved.

LXII. If therefore, when the body is destroyed, the substance of the soul, whatever that substance may be, perishes

together with it, and ceases to exist, I know not how I can conceive those to be happy, who have received no advantage from their virtue; but, on the contrary, have been undone by it: Whereas, if our souls remain for ever incorruptible, as some think, or, if they subsist some time after their separation from the body, Those of good men enjoying the longest, and Those of the wicked the shortest, duration, the applause of the living, and the preservation of their memory to the latest ages, seem to be an honor sufficient for the virtuous, though Fortune was their enemy: Which honor happened to this man: For, not only, the Volsci mourned for his death, and still honor him, as a man of the greatest merit; but the Romans also, when they were informed of his tragical end, looked upon it as a great calamity to their commonwealth, and mourned for him both in private, and in public: And their wives, as their custom is at the death of their nearest relations, laid aside their gold, and purple, and all the rest of their ornaments; and dressing themselves in black, mourned for him a whole year: And near five hundred years being, now, elapsed since his death, his memory is not obliterated, but he is, still, praised and celebrated by all, as a pious, and just man. Thus ended the danger, with which the Romans had been threatened by the invasion of the Volsci, and Aequi, under the command of Marcius; a danger greater than any they had, ever, been exposed to, which had like to have destroyed the whole city from its foundations.

LXIII. A few days after, the Romans took the field with a numerous army commanded by both the consuls; and, advancing to the confines of their own territories, incamped on two hills, each of the consuls having his camp apart, very strongly situated. However, they returned to Rome without effecting any thing, though fair opportunities were given them by the enemy of performing some gallant action: For, before this, the Volsci, and the Aequi had invaded the Roman territories, resolving not to lose the opportunity; but to attack them, while they seemed to be, still, in a consternation, supposing that fear would induce them to surrender of their own accord: But, quarrelling among one another about the command, they ran to arms, and engaged without keeping their ranks, or receiving orders, but with all the confusion, and disorder imaginable; so that, many were killed on both sides: And, if the setting of the sun had not prevented further mischief, both armies had been, utterly, destroyed. Yielding therefore, though unwillingly, to the night, which put an end to the contest, they were parted, and each army retired to their own camp: And, decamping, early the next day, each returned home. The consuls, though informed both by the prisoners they had taken, and by the deserters, who had escaped from the action, of the madness, and fury the enemy had been possessed with, neither took advantage of an opportunity so much to be wished, when they were not distant from them above thirty stadia, nor pursued them in their retreat, in which their own troops being fresh, and following in their ranks,

ranks, might easily have destroyed, to a man, Those of the enemy, that were fatigued, wounded, reduced to a small number, and retiring in disorder. However, the consuls decamped also, and returned to Rome; either contented with the advantage Fortune had given them, or having no confidence in their troops that were undisciplined, or highly satisfied with not having suffered the least loss. But, when they came to Rome, they were treated with great ignominy, and their behaviour was charged with cowardice. And, without undertaking any other expedition, they surrendered their magistracy to their successors.

LXIV. The next year, ³⁹ Caius Aquilius, and Titus Sicinus, both men of experience in war, entered upon the consulship. The senate, after the consuls had proposed to them to consider of the war, ordered that ambassadors should be sent to the Hernici to demand of them, as of their friends and allies, such satisfaction, as they were intitled to by their treaties (for the commonwealth had been injured by them at the time of the invasion of the Volsci, and Aequi, by the robberies they had committed, and the incursions they had made upon that part of the Roman territories, which lay contiguous to theirs) and that, in the mean time, and until they should receive their answers, the consuls should raise all the forces they could, and demand the assistance of their allies by embassies; and, also, that they

³⁹ Γαίος Ακυλίου, και Τίτος Σικίνος. *Fasti consulares*. In * Livy, the latter is named T. Sicinius, possibly through a mistake in the transcriber.

* B. ii. c. 40.

should

should, by employing a great number of men, prepare corn, arms, money, and all other things, that were necessary for the war, with the greatest expedition. When the ambassadors returned from the Hernici, they made their report to the senate of the answers they had received from them; the substance of which was, that they said there never had been any treaty between them, and the Romans in general; that the convention they had made with Tarquinius was dissolved both by his expulsion, and by his death in a foreign country; and that, if any depredations had been committed, or incursions made upon the territories of the Romans by bands of robbers, these did not flow from the general consent of their nation, but from the avarice of particular persons; that it was not even in their power to deliver up to justice the men, who had been guilty of these things; that they themselves, having, also, suffered damages of the same nature, had the same complaints to make; and that they, cheerfully, accepted the war. The senate, having heard the report of their ambassadors, ordered the youth already raised to be divided into three bodies: And that, with one of them, Caius Aquilius should march against the Hernici (for these were already in arms) That Titus Sicinus, the other consul, should lead the second against the Volsci; and that Spurius Lartius, who had been appointed governor of Rome by the consuls, should, with the third, defend that part of the country, that lay nearest to the city: That those, who were above the military age, but still in a condition to bear arms,

arms, should be disposed under their ensigns, and guard the fortresses of the city, and the walls, to prevent any sudden attempt of the enemy, while all the youth were in the field: And that Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, a consular person, should have the command of these forces. All these orders were soon executed.

LXV. Aquilius therefore, one of the consuls; finding the army of the Hernici waiting for him in the country of the Praenestini, incamped as near to them as he could, at the distance of little more than two hundred stadia from Rome. The third day after he had formed his camp, the Hernici, coming out of theirs, advanced to the plain in order of battle, and gave the signal for the combat: Upon which, the consul marched out to meet them with his army also drawn up, and disposed in their respective divisions: And, when they approached one another, they shouted, and ran to the engagement, which was begun by the light armed men on both sides, who, with darts, arrows, and stones from their slings, gave one another many wounds: Then the horse charged the horse in troops; and the foot engaged the foot in companies: And, now, the battle raged; both armies fighting bravely; and, for a long time, maintaining the ground where they were posted. At length, the first line of the Romans began to give way, this being the first battle they had been engaged in for a long time. Aquilius, observing this, ordered the fresh troops reserved for this very purpose, to take the place of those who were fatigued, and the wounded men, and those who were spent with the labor

labor of the day, to retire to the rear. The Hernici, seeing their troops in motion, imagined the Romans were beginning to fly; and, animating one another, and closing their files, they fell upon those parts of the enemy's army, that were in motion, and the fresh troops of the Romans received their onset; and, both fighting resolutely, the battle was, now, renewed with great violence: For the cohorts of the Hernici were also, continually, reinforced with fresh troops sent by their generals, in the room of those, who were fatigued. The evening was now coming on, when the consul, encouraging the horse to exert themselves upon this occasion, put himself at their head, and charged the right wing of the enemy; who, after a short resistance, gave way, and a great slaughter ensued: While the right wing of the Hernici suffered, and lost ground, the left, still, maintained the fight, and had the advantage over the right wing of the Romans: But, in a short time, That too gave way: For Aquilius, taking with him the bravest of the youth, ran to their assistance also; and, exhorting his people, and calling upon every man, who used to distinguish himself in former battles, by his name, and snatching the standards of those cohorts, that did not seem to do their duty, from their bearers, he threw them into the midst of the enemy; that the dread of the punishment ordained by the laws, if they did not recover their standards, might compel them to fight valiantly; and he himself always relieved every part, that wanted succour, till he forced this wing, also, to give way. Both the flanks being now left naked, even the center did not stand their

ground ; but the Hernici fled to their camp in confusion, and disorder, and the Romans pursued them with great execution. The Roman army fought, that day, with so much eagerness, that some of the men endeavoured even to mount the intrenchments of the enemy's camp, in expectation of taking it by storm ; which attempt the consul observing to be hazardous and unavailing, ordered a retreat to be sounded, and that his men should give over the attack, which they were desirous to continue, fearing lest, by being galled with the missive weapons, which the enemy were, continually, throwing from above, they should be forced to retire with shame, and great loss, and, by that means, deface the glory of their former victory : So that, the Romans, it being now near sun set, returned to their camp rejoicing, and singing songs of triumph.

LXVI. The following night, there was a great noise, and outcry heard in the camp of the Hernici, and the light of many torches seen : For they, despairing of being able to stand another engagement, had resolved to leave their camp of their own motion ; and this was the cause of the disorder, and outcry : Since every man fled with all the strength, and speed he was master of, calling to, and called upon by, one another, without shewing the least regard to the lamentations, and intreaties of those, who were left behind on account of their wounds, or sickness. The Romans, who knew nothing of this, but had, before, been informed by the prisoners that another army of the Hernici was expected to come to the assistance of their countrymen, and imagining
that

that this outcry, and tumult was occasioned by their arrival, took their arms again; and, lining the intrenchments, lest any attack should be made upon them in the night, sometimes all struck their shields with their swords, and, at others, shouted frequently, as if they were going to engage. All these things alarmed the Hernici, also, to a great degree, who, thinking themselves pursued by the enemy, dispersed, and fled different ways. After it was day, and the horse, sent out to discover the enemy's motions, had reported that no fresh forces were come to their assistance, and that Those they had been engaged with the day before, were fled, Aquilius marched out with his army, and possessed himself of the enemy's camp, which was full of beasts of burden, provisions, and arms; and there, also, he took their wounded men, not fewer in number than those, who had fled; and, sending the horse in pursuit of such, as had dispersed themselves in the roads, and woods, he made many of them prisoners: Then he overrun the territories of the Hernici, and laid them waste with impunity, none now daring to encounter him. These were the exploits of Aquilius.

LXVII. The other consul, Titus Sicinus, who had been sent against the Volsci with the flower of the army, made an irruption into the country of the Veliterni: For Tullus Attius, the Volscian general, was posted there at the head of a very gallant army, which he had raised with a view first to harass the country of their allies, as Marcius had done when he begun the war, thinking that the Romans, continuing still under the same consternation, would not send any

succours to those, who were exposed to danger for their sake. As soon as the two armies were seen by, and saw, one another, they engaged without delay: The ground between their camps, on which they were obliged to fight, was a rocky hill, surrounded with many broken precipices, where the horse could be of no use to either. The Roman horse, observing this, thought it would be a shame for them to be present at the action, without assisting in it; and, coming to the consul in a body, desired, if he approved of it, that he would permit them to quit their horses, and fight on foot: The consul gave them great commendations; and, ordering them to dismount, drew them up, and kept them about him both to observe what part of the army might want relief, and to relieve it. And these were the cause of the victory the Romans then gained; a victory, that well deserved the great applause it afterwards met with: For the foot, on both sides, were as equal as possible in number, and armed alike, and had no advantage over one another in order, discipline, experience in fighting, in attacks, or retreats, in dealing their blows, or in warding them off: For the Volsci had changed every part of their military discipline, since they had been commanded by Marcius, and adopted the customs of the Romans: So that, the foot in both armies continued fighting most part of the day with equal success, the ground, by its inequality, giving to each many advantages. But the Roman horsemen dividing themselves into two bodies, one of them attacked the enemy's right wing in flank, while the other, going round the hill, charged them in the rear; after which,

which, some of them darted their spears at the Volsci, and others, with their horsemen's swords, which are longer than those of the infantry, flashed the arms, and hams of those they encountered, and cut off the hands of many of them, together with the bucklers, and swords they were holding either to defend themselves, or annoy the enemy; and, by inflicting deep wounds on the knees, and ankles of several, they left them half dead upon the ground, where they had stood, before, with the greatest firmness. And now the Volsci were, on all sides, surrounded with ruin; the foot pressing them in front, and the horsemen on their flank, and in the rear: So that, after having shewn a bravery beyond their strength, and given many proofs of resolution, and experience, their right wing was almost all cut in pieces. When those in the center, and in the other wing, saw their right wing broken, and the Roman horsemen coming up to charge them in the same manner, they caused their ⁴⁰ files to coun-

40. Εξελιξαίτες τὰς λοχίας. The sense of this expression, is visibly mistaken by the Latin, and French translators: The former have said *explicatis ordinibus*, which M. *** has translated literally, *ils déployent leurs bataillons*. Le Jay has said, *ils font défiler leurs troupes*, which is not much more to the purpose. In order to come at the sense of this expression, we must consult the Greek masters of tactics, and, among the rest, Arrian, who explains the different kinds of the *εξελιγμος*. Without entering into the subdivisions of this evolution, I shall content myself with

mentioning the division of it: The *εξελιγμος* was either *καία λοχίας*, or *καία ζυγα*: ^d The first is, when the files of a battalion countermarch; and the second, when the ranks do the same. In the first evolution, *ὁ μὲν λοχαγὸς τὸν τε στρατὸν μεταλαμβάνει τοπὸν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς τὸν τε λοχαγόν, καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς καίας προσώπων ἐπιφανείας ἢ κάτοπιν*: Here, the file leaders take the place of the bringers up, and these of the file leaders, and the front becomes the rear: This was the *εξελιγμος*, which our author says the Volsci made use of, to secure their retreat; and a very proper one, no

^d Εἰν τεχν. Τακτ. p. 58. Ed. of Amsterd.

termarch,

termarch, and retired slowly towards their camp, and the horsemen followed in their ranks: And, when they came to the intrenchments, another sharp fight ensued, and the horsemen, in endeavouring to climb over the palisades in different parts of the camp, were repulsed. The consul, seeing the Romans distressed, ordered the foot to bring fascines, and fill up the ditches; and, putting himself at the head of the bravest horsemen, he marched over the passage they had made, to the gate of the camp, that was most fortified; and, having forced the guard, that defended it, and cut asunder the portcullis, he got within the intrenchments, and let in his foot that followed. Here Tullus Attius charged him with the strongest, and bravest of the Volsci; and, after he had performed many gallant actions (for he was a valiant soldier, but not qualified for a general) at last, spent with labor, and the many wounds he had received, he fell dead. After the camp was taken, some of the Volsci died fighting; and others threw down their arms, and implored the clemency of the conquerors; and a few of them saved themselves by flight, and returned home. When the couriers sent by the consuls arrived at Rome, the people were filled with joy, and, immediately, ordered sacrifices of thanksgiving to be offered to the gods, and decreed the

doubt. I shall just say a word, or two, to explain the other *εξελιγμος*, though it does not properly relate to the expression, now, before us. By the *εξελιγμος καλα ζυγα*, the commander *τα δεξια εν τοις ευωνυμοις καθιστησι, η τα*

ευωνυμα εν τοις δεξιαις: Here, the ranks countermarch; that is, one wing of the batalion exchanges its ground with the other; the right wing becomes the left; and the left wing, the right.

honors

honors of a triumph to the consuls; but not the same to both: For, as Sicinus seemed to have freed the commonwealth from the greater fear, by destroying the insulting army of the Volsci, and killing their general, so they granted to him the greater triumph: And he entered the city in a chariot, drawn by horses with golden bridles, he himself being dressed in royal robes, as is usual in the greater triumphs: He was ⁴¹ preceded by the spoils, and the prisoners; and followed by his victorious army. To Aquilius they decreed the lesser triumph, called, by them, *Ovatio*. I have, before, ⁴² shewn the difference between this, and the greater triumph. And this person entered the city on foot, with the other ornaments of the procession: Thus the year ended.

LXVIII. These consuls were succeeded by ⁴³ Proculus Virginius, and Spurius Cassius, then consul for the third time, who took the field with their national forces, and those of their allies. It fell to the lot of Virginius to lead his army

⁴¹. Ἀγων τὰ λαφύρα καὶ τὰς αἰχμαλώτους. This word *αγων*, as it is in the Vatican manuscript, or *εχων*, as it stands in the editions, is applied to the spoils, the prisoners, and the army; and yet it is certain that the triumphal car was preceded by the spoils first, and then by the prisoners, and followed by the army. The ignorance of, or inattention to, this particular, has misled the French translators, and particularly Le Jay: The other has said, *il entra dans Rome accompagné de ceux qui portoient les dépouilles*; this rather evades, than explains the difficulty;

which Le Jay is so far from evading, that he leaves the reader no room to doubt of his error: *Il entra dans Rome au milieu des dépouilles des ennemies, and traînant après soy un grand nombre de captifs.*

⁴². Δεδηλώαι μοι. See the fifth book, chapter 47.

⁴³. Προκυλος. This consul is called Proculus Virginius both by ^e Livy, and the *fasti consulares*; for which reason, I have inserted Proculus in the text, instead of Προπλιος, which is the reading of all the editions.

against the Aequi; and to That of Cassius to march against the Hernici, and the Volsci. The Aequi, having fortified their cities, and removed thither out of the country every thing that was most valuable, suffered their lands to be laid waste, and their country houses to be set on fire: So that, Virginius, with great ease, harraffed, and spoiled as much of their country as he thought fit, since no one offered to defend it; and, then, returned to Rome with his army. The Volsci, and the Hernici, against whom Cassius marched, had resolved to suffer their lands to be laid waste, and all taken refuge in their cities. However, they did not adhere to their resolution: But, induced by their regret to see the desolation of a fertil country, which they could not expect easily to restore to its former condition; and, at the same time, distrusting the fortifications they had fled to, which were not very strong, they sent embassadors to the consul to sue for peace: The Volsci sent first; and first obtained their desires, by furnishing as much money as the consul ordered, and every thing else the army wanted: And these consented to become subject to the Romans, without aiming, any longer, at an equality. After them, the Hernici, finding themselves left destitute, treated with the consul concerning peace, and friendship: But Cassius accused them, violently, to their embassadors, and said they ought, first, to act like men conquered, and subjects, and, then, treat of friendship. The embassadors answering that they would do every thing, that was possible and reasonable, he

he ordered them to supply his army ⁴⁴ with money, and with provisions for a month: And to the intent they might raise these supplies with the greater ease on the day appointed, he granted them a truce. The Hernici performing every thing with expedition and alacrity, and sending, again, ambassadors to treat of the peace, Cassius commended them, and referred them to the senate; who, after many deliberations, came to a resolution to receive this people into their friendship: That Cassius should consider, and settle, the terms of the treaty: And that, whatever he approved of, they would ratify.

LXIX. The senate having come to these resolutions, Cassius returned to Rome, and demanded a ⁴⁵ second triumph, as if he had subdued the greatest nations, seizing

44. Αργυριον τε, ὁ κατ' ἀνδρα τοις στρατιώταις εἰς ὀψωνιασμον ΕΘΟΣ ΗΝ μηνων δεδοσθ. The commentators observe, that the numeral word before μηνων is omitted in the Greek text: But I have an objection against the whole sentence. If ὀψωνιασμος is supposed to signify the usual pay of the Roman soldiers, which signification the word will bear, a plain absurdity will follow; since it is very well known that the Roman soldiers received no pay, till the year of Rome 348, when the senate ordered ^f *ut stipendium miles de publico acciperet*; *quum ante id tempus de suo quisque functus eo munere esset*. And, if ὀψωνιασμος is taken in the more common signification, for pro-

visions, the same thing will be repeated in τροφας αποφερειν: So that, I would strike out the intervening sentence, as an interpolation, and read αργυριον τε, και δια μηνος τροφας αποφερειν. Something like this we had just before, in relation to the orders given by the other consul to the Volsci, where no mention is made of the sum, any more than here.

45. Δευτερον. So we must read this with the Vatican manuscript, and not μεγαλον, as it stands in the editions: Because Cassius had, already, triumphed for the victory he obtained over the Sabines^g, where he killed 10,300 of them, and took near 4000 prisoners.

^f Livy, B. iv. c. 59. ^g See the fifth book, chap. 49.

that honor by favor, rather than receiving it as a right ; since he was to be preceded by captives, and spoils, with which a triumph is adorned, without having stormed any towns, or gained a battle in the field. This action first drew upon him the reputation of a proud man, and the envy of entertaining more exalted thoughts, than the rest of his fellow-citizens. After he had prevailed in obtaining the triumph, he produced the treaty he had made with the Hernici ; which was copied from That, before, made with the Latines. This, greatly, disgusted the most ancient, and the most dignified senators, who began to suspect him ; because they thought it, highly, unreasonable that the Hernici, who were strangers, should obtain the same honor with the Latines, who were their relations ; and that such, as had not done them the least service, should be treated with the same humanity, as those, who had given them many instances of their affection. They were, also, displeased at the haughtiness of the man, who, after he had been honoured by the senate, had not done the same honor to them, but produced a treaty settled according to his own humour, and not by the authority of the senate. And, indeed, success in various undertakings is a dangerous, and a prejudicial thing to a man : For it is, often, the source of thoughtless pride, and the secret author of desires exceeding the condition of human nature : Which was the case of Cassius : For being the only person at that time, who had been honoured by his country with three consulships, and two triumphs, he now took upon himself greater

greater state, and entertained a desire of monarchical power : And, considering that the easiest, and safest way, of all others, for those, who aim at monarchy, or tyranny, is to gain the multitude by some gratifications, and to accustom them to be fed by the hand of the person, who distributes the possessions of the public, this he pursued : And, without communicating his design to any one, he determined to divide among the people certain lands of large extent, belonging to the public, which lay neglected, and were, then, in the possession of the richest men. If Cassius had been content to stop here, it is possible that his design might have succeeded ; but, by aiming at more, he raised a violent sedition ; the event of which proved fatal to himself : For he thought proper to comprehend in the division of these lands not only the Latines, but even the Hernici, who had been, just before, admitted citizens, in order to engage these nations in his interest.

LXX. Having formed this plan, the day after his triumph, he called the people together ; and, ascending the tribunal, according to the custom of those who have triumphed, he, first, gave an account to them of his actions ; the sum of which was as follows : That, in his first consulship, he had subdued the Sabines, who claimed the sovereignty, and compelled them to become subject to the Romans : That, in the second, he had appeased the sedition, with which the commonwealth was then agitated, and brought back the people to their country ; and had engaged the Latines, who, though of the same extraction

with the Romans, yet always envied their sovereignty and glory, to become their friends, by communicating to them the same rights with the Roman citizens ; so that, they looked upon Rome no longer as a rival, but as their country : That, being the third time invested with the same magistracy, he had, not only, compelled the Volsci, from enemies to be their friends, but had, also, induced the Hernici, a numerous, and warlike nation, and, by being situated near them, capable of doing them the greatest mischief, and the greatest service, to a voluntary submission. After he had displayed these things, and many others of the like nature, he desired the people to look upon him as a person, who then had, and always should have, a greater zeal for the interest of the commonwealth, than any others could pretend to. He concluded with saying that his design was to confer upon the people so many benefits, and of such a nature, as to surpass all those, who were commended for their affection to the plebeians, and concern for their preservation. And these things, he said, he would soon accomplish. He then dismissed the assembly ; and, without the least delay, caused the senate to meet the day after, who were already in suspense, and terrified with his discourse : And, before he entered upon any thing else, he laid open his intention, which he had concealed from the multitude, desiring the senate, that, as the people both by supporting their liberty, and by enabling them to command others, had done great service to the commonwealth, they would shew a regard for their interest, in dividing among them

them the conquered lands, which were, indeed, called public lands, but, in reality, were usurped by the most shameless among the patricians, contrary to all justice; and that the money paid for the corn, sent them by Gelo king of Sicily as a present, which, though it ought to have been divided among all the citizens in a gratuitous manner, the poor had purchased, might be repaid to the buyers, out of the treasury.

LXXI. While he was speaking, presently a great tumult arose, all the senators shewing their dislike, and impatience of what he proposed. And, when he had done, not only his colleague, Virginus, but the most ancient, and the most dignified senators, particularly Appius Claudius, exclaimed against him with great vehemence, for designing to raise a sedition. And these two continued, for a long time, inflamed, and uttering the severest reproaches against one another. The following days, Cassius, assembling the people frequently, gained their affections by his popular harangues, displayed the advantages, that would flow from the division of these lands, and laid himself out in invectives against his opposers. On the other side, Virginus assembled the senate every day, and concerted measures with the patricians to guard against his design, and to prevent its success, by a legal opposition. And each of the consuls was attended by a strong body of men, to secure them from being insulted. The poor, the mean, and such as were prepared for any daring enterprise, were under the command of Cassius: And those of the greatest birth, and character adhered to Virginus. For some
time,

time, the worst side carried it in the assemblies of the people, by a great majority. After that, they became equal, the tribunes joining the best side; possibly, because they did not think it advantageous for the commonwealth that the people should be corrupted by bribes, and a distribution of the public lands, and thence grow idle, and profligate: Possibly also, through envy, because they themselves, who were the leaders of the people, had not been the authors of this liberality, but another person. However, there is no reason to conclude that they were influenced by any other motive, than the apprehension of this encrease of power in Cassius, which was greater than the interest of the commonwealth would admit. These now opposed, therefore, in every assembly of the people, the laws, which Cassius was introducing, with all their power: They represented to them that it was not just that those lands, which they had acquired by many wars, should be distributed among any but the Romans, and that, not only, the Latines, who had not been present in those wars, but the Hernici also, who had, but lately, entered into their friendship, and who, being brought into it by war, ought to be satisfied if they were not deprived of their own territories, should have an equal share of those conquered lands with the Romans themselves. The people, hearing this, sometimes assented to the representations of the tribunes, when they considered that the portion of the public lands, that would fall to the share of each, would be small and inconsiderable, if both the Hernici, and the Latines were to partake with them in this
distrib-

distribution: And, at others, Cassius, by his popular harangues, made them change their opinion, by telling them that the tribunes betrayed them to the patricians, and covered their opposition with this specious pretence, that an equal share of these lands was to be given to the Hernici, and the Latines, whom he himself had comprehended in his law, with a view of adding strength to the poor, and of defeating any attempt, that might, hereafter, be made to dispossess them of the lands that were granted to them; since he looked upon it to be better and safer for the people to continue in the undisturbed possession of a small share, than, by expecting a greater, to be disappointed of every thing.

LXXII. While Cassius, by these insinuations, wrought frequent changes in the minds of the multitude, Caius Rabbuleius, one of the tribunes, a man of no mean abilities, presented himself before the people, and promised that he would, soon, put an end to this contest between the consuls, and shew the people their true interest. This being followed with great acclamations, and, after that, with silence, he said; “ Are not these, Cassius, and Virginus, the chief points in
 “ dispute concerning this law; the first, whether it is pro-
 “ per to distribute the public lands to every Roman; and
 “ the other, whether the Latines, and the Hernici, ought to
 “ have a share of them? And they acknowledging it to be so, he went on: “ This being allowed, you, Cassius, would
 “ have the people vote for both these; and you, Virginus,
 “ let us know, in the name of the gods, whether you oppose
 “ that part of the law proposed by Cassius, which relates to
 “ the

“ the allies, as thinking that the Hernici, and the Latines
“ ought not to have an equal share with us ; or do you
“ oppose the other also, and insist that the public lands
“ should not be divided even among us ? Answer to these
“ questions without concealing any thing.” And Virginius
saying that he was against giving an equal share of these
lands to the Hernici, and the Latines, but consented to their
being distributed among the Roman citizens, if all the
people were of that opinion ; the tribune, turning to the
assembly, said ; “ Since, therefore, one part of the question is
“ approved of by both the consuls, and the other opposed by
“ one of them ; and, as both are equal in dignity, and neither
“ can force the other to come into his opinion, let us, now,
“ receive That, which both agree to give us, and put off the
“ other, concerning which they differ.” The people signify-
ing, by their acclamations, that his advice was the best that
could be given, and desiring him to strike out of the law that
part, which occasioned the contest, Cassius was at a loss what
to do ; and, being unwilling to retract his opinion, and unable
to maintain it, while the tribunes opposed him, he dismissed
the assembly for that time. The following days, he pretended
illness, and went no more to the forum ; but, continuing at
home, formed a design to get the law passed by force, and
violence ; and sent for as many of the Latines, and Hernici,
as he could, to come, and vote for it. These assembled in
great numbers ; and, presently, the town was full of strangers.
Virginius being informed of these things, ordered proclama-
tion to be made in the streets, that all, who were not inha-
bitants,

bitants, should forthwith depart the city. On the other side, Cassius ordered the contrary to be proclaimed, that all, who were intitled to the rights of citizens, should stay, till the law was passed.

LXXIII. There being no end of these contests, the patricians, fearing lest, when the law came to be proposed, the people should take arms, and have recourse to violence, and to such other forcible means, as are frequently used in divided assemblies, met in the senate to consider of such methods, as should, at once, put a stop to all these evils. Appius therefore, being, first, asked his opinion, opposed this distribution of the lands among the people, telling them that an idle multitude, accustomed to devour the public stock, would prove troublesome, and useless cohabitants, and never suffer any thing belonging to the public, whether lands, or money, to continue in the possession of the public: And that it would be a shameful thing, if the senate, who accused Cassius of introducing a wicked, and disadvantageous law, and of corrupting the people, should themselves, by common consent, establish that law, as just and advantageous: He desired them, also, to consider that the poor, if these lands were divided among them, would not, even, think themselves obliged to those, who gave their consent, and sanction to this law, but to Cassius, who, first, proposed it, and seemed to have compelled the senate to ratify it against their will. Having said this, and many other things to the same purpose, he ended with advising them to make choice of some of the most dignified senators to fix the bounds of

the public land upon the spot; and, if they found that any private persons, by fraud, or force, either fed, or tilled, any part of it, to take cognizance of this abuse, and restore the land to the public: And, further, that the land, so bounded by them, should be divided into a certain number of shares, and distinguished by handsome pillars; and that one part of this land should be sold, particularly that part, concerning which there was any contest with private persons; so that, the purchasers might plead the determination of these commissioners against any, who should claim these lands; and the other part be let for five years: And that the money, arising from these rents, be applied to pay the forces, and to the necessary expences of wars: “ For, says he, as things now stand, the envy of the
“ poor against the rich, who have usurped, and still continue in the possession of, the public lands, is well
“ grounded; and it is not to be wondered at if they desire
“ those lands should be divided among all the citizens,
“ rather than usurped by a few, and those the most shameless
“ of all men: Whereas, if they see the persons, who now
“ enjoy them, quit possession, and the public lands, really
“ become public lands, they will cease to envy us, and relinquish their fondness for this general distribution of them,
“ when they know that these lands in the hands of the
“ public will be of greater advantage to them, than the
“ small portion, that will be allotted to each. Let us
“ shew them, therefore, how much their interest is here
“ concerned; and that, if each of the poor receives for
“ his

“ his share a small piece of land, and happens to have
 “ troublesome neighbours, he neither will be able to culti-
 “ vate it himself by reason of his poverty, neither will he
 “ find any man to hire it of him, but a neighbour : Whereas,
 “ if large farms, requiring various, and considerable culture,
 “ are let by the public, they will bring in great revenues
 “ to the commonwealth : And that it is better for them,
 “ when they go to the field, to receive both provisions, and
 “ their pay from the treasury, than, out of their private
 “ fortunes, to pay in their contributions to the ⁴⁶ treasury,
 “ when pressed, as it often happens, with want, which will
 “ still be encreased by providing this money.”

LXXIV. After Appius had delivered this opinion, and
 gained great applause by it, Aulus Sempronius Atratinus
 was called upon next, and said ; “ In the first place, I must
 “ commend Appius, as a man very capable of seeing future
 “ events at a great distance ; one, who always gives the
 “ most honourable, and the most useful advice ; firm, and
 “ unmoved in his resolutions ; and neither yielding to fear,
 “ nor swayed by favor : For I ever praise, and admire him,
 “ both for his prudence, and the courage he shews in the
 “ midst of dangers : Neither shall I myself offer any other
 “ advice ; but only add a few things, which Appius seems
 “ to have omitted : Nor am I of opinion that the Hernici, or
 “ the Latines, to whom we, lately, granted the rights of

⁴⁶. ΕΙΣ ΤΑΜΙΕΙΟΝ. Sylburgius has observed that ΕΙΣΦΕΡΕΙΝ is, here, wanting, whic his very true : But I suspect that something else is wanting to complete

this sentence, which, as it now stands, does not run with the smoothness, and perspecuity, peculiar to our author.

“ Roman citizens, ought to have a share of our lands :
“ For we have not acquired these, since they acceded to
“ our friendship ; but long before, when, by our own
“ dangers, without the assistance of any others, we gained
“ them from our enemies. And let us give them this
“ answer, that the lands, which each of us were before,
“ respectively, possessed of, when we entered into the treaty
“ of friendship, ought to remain in property, and unalienable
“ to each : And that of Those we shall conquer with joint
“ forces, since we made the treaty, each shall have his share.
“ This method will give neither to our allies any just cause
“ of complaining that they are injured, nor to the people any
“ apprehension of appearing to prefer their interest to their
“ reputation. As to the appointment of persons to fix the
“ bounds of the public lands, I, intirely, agree with Appius :
“ For this will set us at liberty with regard to the plebeians ;
“ since they are, now, displeased on both these accounts,
“ because they themselves reap no benefit from the public
“ lands, and because some of us enjoy them, contrary to
“ justice : Whereas, if they see these lands restored to the
“ public, and the produce thereof applied to the necessary
“ uses of the commonwealth, they will look upon it to make
“ no difference to them, whether they enjoy the land, or
“ the produce of it : For I need not inform you that some
“ of the poor are more delighted with the losses of others,
“ than with their own advantages. However, I do not
“ think it sufficient to insert these two things in the decree ;
“ but we ought, in my opinion, to gain their affections, and
“ relieve

“ relieve them by some other favor also, which I shall, pre-
 “ sently, acquaint you with, after I have, first, laid before
 “ you the reason, or rather the necessity, that should induce
 “ us to come into this measure.

LXXV. “ You remember, without doubt, what the
 “ tribune said in the last assembly of the people, when he
 “ asked Virginus, one of the consuls, what were his thoughts
 “ concerning the division of the lands, whether he consented
 “ to their being divided among the Roman citizens, but
 “ not among the allies; or do you oppose, says he, the
 “ distribution of our own public lands, even, among ourselves?
 “ And the other answered, that he did not oppose this
 “ distribution, so far as it related to the Romans, if all were
 “ of that opinion. This concession, not only, brought over
 “ the tribunes to our interest, but, changed the disposition
 “ of the people in our favor. What therefore should induce
 “ us to revoke, now, what we, then, consented to? Or
 “ what advantage will it be to us to establish generous, and
 “ noble institutions, and such as are worthy of our empire,
 “ if we cannot prevail with the people to observe them?
 “ But we shall not prevail with them; and this none of you
 “ are ignorant of: And we shall find those, who are disap-
 “ pointed in their hopes, and deceived by the nonperformance
 “ of our promises, more uneasy to us, than those, who do not
 “ obtain what they desire. Some other magistrate will start
 “ up, and, to flatter the people, will, again, bring in these laws,
 “ and, then, not one of the tribunes will assist us. Hear, there-
 “ fore, what advice I give you, and what addition I make
 “ to

“ to the opinion of Appius ; but do not rise up, or create
“ any disturbance, before you have heard all I have to say.
“ After you have appointed commissioners, whether ten, or
“ whatever number, to inspect the land, and fix the bounds
“ of it, impower them to determine which, and how great
“ a part of it, ought to belong to the public, and, by being
“ let for five years, to encrease the revenues of the treasury ;
“ and, on the other side, how great a part of it, and which,
“ ought to be divided among the plebeians. And my advice
“ is, that, whatever land they shall appoint to be divided,
“ you order it to be divided accordingly, after you have
“ determined whether it shall be distributed among all the
“ citizens, or among those, who have no land, or who have
“ the smallest fortunes, or in what manner soever you shall
“ think proper : And, as to the appointment of the persons
“ to fix the bounds of the land ; and the order you shall
“ publish concerning the division of it, and every thing else
“ that is necessary, since the present consuls have but a short
“ time to continue in the magistracy, that their successors
“ take such order therein, as to them shall seem best : For
“ things of this nature require no short time to settle ;
“ neither can it be expected that the present consuls, who
“ are now divided, will be able to discover what is advan-
“ tageous with greater penetration, than their successors, if,
“ as we hope, they shall agree : For delay is, upon many
“ occasions, a useful thing, and, of all others, the least dan-
“ gerous ; and time, often, brings about great changes in
“ a single day : Besides, a good understanding between
“ those,

“ those, who preside in the state, produces the greatest advantages. Thus have I delivered my opinion: If any one has any thing better to propose, let him speak.”

LXXVI. When he had ended, all present applauded him; and not one of the senators, who were asked their opinion after him, gave any other advice. Upon which, the decree of the senate was drawn up to this effect: That ten of the most ancient consular senators be appointed to determine the boundaries of the public land; and to declare how much of it ought to be let, and how much to be divided among the people: That those, to whom the rights of citizens were granted, and their allies, have each their share, according to the treaties, of all such lands, as they shall, afterwards, conquer with joint forces: And that the succeeding consuls take care that the election of the decemvirs, the division of the lands, and every thing else, that is necessary, be performed. When this decree was laid before the people, it, not only, put a stop to the popular harangues of Cassius, but, also, prevented the growing sedition of the poor from making any further progress.

LXXVII. The following year, when the seventy fourth Olympiad was drawing near, at which Astyllus of Syracuse won the prize of the stadium, Leosttratus being archon at Athens, and Quintus Fabius, and Servius Cornelius consuls at Rome, two patricians, young indeed with respect to their age, but the most distinguished of their body on account of the dignity of their ancestors, men of great power founded both on the number of their friends, and the greatness of their fortunes,

fortunes, and, for young men, inferior to none of mature age for their abilities in civil affairs, Caeso Fabius, brother of the then consul, and Lucius Valerius Poplicola, ⁴⁷ nephew to the person, who expelled the kings, being quaestors at the same time, and having, by virtue of that charge, a power of assembling the people, accused before them Spurius Cassius, the consul of the former year, who had dared to bring in the Agrarian laws, for aiming at tyranny: And, appointing a day, cited him to make his defence before the people. There being a great concourse upon the day appointed, the quaestors assembled them; and, entering into a detail of all his actions in public life, shewed them to flow from no good design: First, that, when he was consul, he had, not only, granted to the Latines, the privilege of Roman citizens, which they desired, and would have been contented with, and have thought it a great happiness even to obtain, but, also, ordered that they should have the third part of the spoils taken in war, when carried on with joint forces: Then, with regard to the Hernici, who, being subdued by war, ought to have been satisfied in not being punished with the loss of some part even of their own country, he had made them friends instead of subjects, and citizens instead of tributaries; and ordered they should receive another third part of the land, and the booty, that should, ever after, be acquired: So that, the spoils being divided into three shares, the subjects of the Romans, and strangers were to receive two of them,

⁴⁷ Ἀδελφίδης τῆς καὶ αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας. See the first annotation on the seventh book.

and

and the natives, and their masters only one. They made it appear that, from hence, one of these most absurd things would befall them, if ever they should think fit to honour any other nations, by reason of their many great services, with the same grants, with which they had honoured, not only, the Latines, but the Hernici also, who had never done them the least service : For there being but one third left for them, they would either have no part to bestow upon their benefactors, or, if they granted them the same favour, they would reserve nothing for themselves.

LXXVIII. They added that Cassius, in proposing to divide the public lands, without the previous vote of the senate, or the consent of his colleague, shewed that his design was to get the law passed by force, which law was, not on this account alone, unprofitable, and unjust, That, when the previous vote of the senate was necessary, and, that being obtained, it ought to have been a common favor of all the magistrates, he had made it the favor of one man ; but also on this account, which is a consideration, of all others, the most afflicting, that this, which was called a grant of the public lands to all the citizens, was, in reality, a deprivation ; since the Romans, who had acquired these lands, were to receive but one third of them, and the Hernici, and the Latines, who had nothing to do with them, the other two. They charged him, further, that he had paid no deference, even, to the tribunes, when they opposed him, and desired him to strike out that part of the law, which gave an equal share of these lands to strangers ; but con-

tinued to act contrary to the sense of the tribunes, of his colleague, of the senate, and of all, whose counsels were ever of the greatest advantage to the commonwealth. After they had gone through these heads of their charge, and called upon all the citizens to attest the truth of them, they, then, proceeded to the secret proofs of his having aimed at tyranny; that the Latines, and the Hernici had jointly supplied him with money, and provided themselves with arms; and that the most daring young men of these nations, perpetually, resorted to him, holding private councils, and acting for his service in many other instances: And, to prove the truth of these allegations, they produced many witnesses, both Roman citizens, and others belonging to the nations in alliance with them, persons neither mean, nor obscure. To these the people gave credit; and, without either suffering themselves to be moved with the speech of Cassius, which he made after great premeditation, or with compassion, though the appearance of his three sons, as well as the joint lamentations of his other relations, and friends, gave him a great opportunity of exciting their mercy, or paying any regard to his military actions, by which he had raised himself to the greatest honor, they condemned him: And they were so exasperated at the name of tyranny, that they could not moderate their resentment even in the degree of his punishment, but sentenced him to death: For they were afraid lest, if they had banished him, as he was the ablest general of his time, he might have followed the example of Marcius; and, by calumniating his country, and
forming

forming a conjunction among their enemies, have brought an irreconcilable war upon them. This being the event of his trial, the quaestors led the man to the top of the precipice that commands the forum ; and, in the presence of all the citizens, ⁴⁸ threw him down from the rock : For this was

⁴⁸. Ἐπίψαν κατὰ τῆς πέρας. We are now come to the death of Cassius, the author of the Agrarian law, in which he failed through his own want of conduct, and the superior skill of the patricians, and was involved in its ruin : However, this law had, afterwards, better success, when it fell into abler hands ; and, though the patricians had not the power to hinder the enacting of this law, they had the art to obstruct the execution of it. The pernicious design of Cassius in aiming at tyranny has cast an infamy on the law itself, and made it to be looked upon as a wicked measure, because it was the instrument to a wicked intention : By this means, it has happened that the Agrarian law, though just in itself, and reasonable in its circumstances, has suffered through the guilt of its author, and been loaded with an infamy not its own. In order, therefore, to be convinced of the justice, and reasonableness of this law, we must consider it unrelatively to the designs of its author, and inquire whether it was agreeable, or repugnant to the constitution of the Romans ; whether it was an innovation in, or a part of, that constitution ; whether the people had not a right to the effect of this law, before the law itself was proposed ; and whether there could be any reason

for opposing it, but the long prescription to the conquered lands, begun, and maintained by the patricians, contrary to justice, and to the very elements of their constitution. We shall be assisted in this inquiry by reflecting on what ^h our author has, already, said concerning the original distribution of lands made by Romulus in the infancy of their government : There we find that Romulus, after he had divided the whole body of the people into thirty curiae, divided, also, the land into thirty equal parts, one of which he allotted to every curia, reserving as much as was sufficient for religious uses, and some part of it for the public. This division, our author says, both of men and land, comprehended the greatest equality : This equality was settled by their constitution ; and, will any one say that the usurpation of the lands, which the Romans, afterwards, conquered, by the patricians without dividing any part of them among the conquerors, reserving any for religious uses, or appropriating any part to the public, was not contrary to that equality, and to the parent of that equality, their constitution ? And that it was so, is, we see, owned even by Appius, as well as by Sempronius. The purport of the law, proposed by Cassius, was to restore both by wresting these con-

^h B. ii. c. 7.

the established punishment, at that time among the Romans, for those, who were condemned to die.

LXXIX. This is the most probable account of any, that have been delivered down to posterity, concerning this man: However, I think myself obliged not to omit a less probable one, since this, also, is believed by many, and recorded in histories of good authority. It is said, therefore, by some that, while the measures he was pursuing to make himself tyrant, were as yet concealed from all the world, the father of Cassius was the first, who suspected him; and, after making the strictest inquiry into the matter, he went to the senate; then, ordering his son to appear, he became both the informer, and the accuser; and the senate having, also, con-

quered lands from the patricians, and dividing them among the people, with whose blood they had been purchased. This is the true state of the question: For, neither the Cassian law, which was rejected; the Licinian law, which passed 119 years after that time; nor the Sempronian law, for proposing which the author of it was murdered by the patricians 353 years after the first attempt made by Cassius, had any relation to private possessions, but only to Those which belonged to the public. The only difference between the first law, and the two last, was this; by the first, it was proposed to divide all the public lands among the people; and by the two last, five hundred acres of those lands, and no more were allowed to the usurpers of them; ⁱ *ne quis ex publico agro plus*

quam quingenta jugera possideret. That these laws related solely to the possessions of the public will appear manifestly, from the whole tenor of Cicero's speech against Rullus, particularly from these words, ^k *licebit enim, quod videbitur, publicum judicare; quod judicabit, vendere.* This will further appear from the Agrarian law passed by the interest, and violence of ^l Julius Caesar, when he, and Bibulus were consuls, in the year of Rome 695: By which, two large tracts of land lying in Campania, and both belonging to the public, were divided among 20,000 Roman citizens: *Campum Stel-latam majoribus consecratum, agrum-que Campanum ad subsidia reipublicae vectigalem relictum divisit extra sortem, ad xx millibus civium, quibus terni pluresve liberi essent.*

ⁱ Liv. Epitom. B. lviii. ^k C. 3.

^l Suet. life of Jul. Caes. c. 20.

demned

demned him, he carried him to his own house, and put him to death. The severe, and inexorable resentment of fathers against their offending sons, particularly in the Romans at that time, will not suffer us to reject, even, this account; since, before this transaction, Brutus, who expelled the kings, condemned both his sons to die the death of malefactors, and they lost their heads, because they appeared to have been accomplices in the conspiracy for restoring the kings: And, after that, Manlius, while he commanded in the⁴⁹ Gallic war, honoured, indeed, his son with the crowns, that were due to his superior valor; yet accused him of disobedience for not staying in the fort, in which he was posted, but for leaving it, contrary to the command of his general, in order to engage the enemy; and inflicted on him the punishment established against soldiers who quit their post, by putting him to death. And many other fathers, some for greater, and others for lesser faults, have shewn neither mercy, nor compassion to their sons: For this reason, I would not, as I said, reject this account, as improbable. But the following arguments, which are of no small weight, have a contrary influence, and lead me to the other opinion: The house of Cassius, after his death, was demolished; and, to this day, the place where it stood remains void, except that part of it, on

⁴⁹ τῷ Γαλατικῷ πολέμῳ. ^m Livy, who gives a very particular account of this transaction, says, it happened in the war with the Latines. On the other side, Sallust, whom it is very possible our author followed, makes

Cato say in his speech to the senate, when the fate of Catiline's accomplices was in debate: *Apud majores nostros Aulus (Titus) Manlius Torquatus bello Gallico filium suum, quod is contra imperium in hostem pugnaverat, necari jussit.*

^m B. viii. c. 7.

which

which the Romans, afterwards, built the temple of the Earth, which stands in the street leading to the ⁵⁰ Carinae: And his fortune was also confiscated; which the state employed in founding the first offerings in different temples, and, also, in dedicating the brazen statues to Ceres, which, ⁵¹ by their inscriptions, shew of whose fortune they were the first offerings: Whereas, if his father had been the informer, the accuser, and the executioner of his son, his house would not have been demolished, nor his fortune confiscated: For the Romans have nothing in property, during the lives of their fathers, who may dispose both of the fortunes, and persons of their sons, as they think proper: So that, the state would never have taken away, and confiscated the fortune of the father, who had given information of the design of tyranny, for the offences of the son: For these reasons, therefore, I prefer the former account: But I have mentioned both of them, to the end the reader may adhere to which he pleases.

LXXX. There being an attempt made by some people to involve the sons of Cassius in the punishment of their father, the senate looked upon it as a cruel, and pernicious precedent; and, being assembled, they ordered the youths to be acquitted, and to live with all impunity, without being subject to banishment, disgrace, or any other calamity: And, from henceforth, this custom was established among the Romans, and is observed to this time, that the sons

⁵⁰ Καρίνας. See the 217th annotation on the first book.

Livy has given us the inscription ⁿ:
EX CASSIA FAMILIA DATVM.

⁵¹ Ανδριανίας επιγραφαις δηλωνίας.

ⁿ B. ii. c. 41.

shall be exempt from all punishment, whose fathers are offenders, whether they happen to be the sons of tyrants, of parricides, or of traitors, which, among them, is the greatest of all offences. And those, who attempted to abolish this custom in our time, after the end of the Marfic, and civil wars, and prohibited the sons of such, as had been proscribed by Sylla, from standing candidates for their fathers honors, and from being admitted into the senate as long as their domination lasted, were looked upon to have been guilty of an action deserving both the indignation of men, and the vengeance of the gods: For which reason, in process of time, a blameless punishment, the avenger of their crimes, pursued them, by which they themselves were brought down from the greatest height of glory, to the lowest degree of obscurity; and none, even, of their race are now left, but women. However, ⁵² the person, who overcame these men, restored this custom to its ancient vigor: This law is not in use among all ⁵³ the Greeks; but some of them think

⁵² Ο τολμας καθελων. Le Jay says, in his marginal note, that the person here meant was Augustus. I think it was Julius Caesar, who may be, properly, said to have overcome the Syllan faction revived in Pompey, as the Marian faction revived in him. By the Cornelian law, enacted by ° Sylla, when he was dictator, the sons, and grandsons of the proscribed were incapacitated to enjoy any magistracy. In contradiction to this law, ^p Julius Caesar, when he was invested with the same dignity, admitted them to honors; *admisit ad honores et proscriptorum liberos.*

⁵³ Παρ' Ἑλλήσι. Sylburgius observes, from ^q Aristotle, that it was a custom among the Greeks to put to death the innocent sons of offenders; to which purpose the latter cites this verse,

Νηπιος, ὃς πατέρα κτενας παιδας καλαλειτουργι.

Sylburgius, also, cites the example of Achilles, who sacrificed twelve Trojans to the manes of Patroclus. This last example does not seem much to the present purpose: However, the two French translators have appropriated this note to themselves, without any thanks to Sylburgius.

° Plutarch. Life of Sylla.

^p Suetonius Life of J. Caesar, c. 41.

^q Πηλογ. B. i. & ii.

it reasonable to put to death the sons of tyrants, together with their fathers ; and others punish them with perpetual banishment : As if it was contrary to the course of nature for virtuous sons to be the offspring of wicked fathers, or wicked sons of virtuous fathers. But, concerning these things, whether the Greek, or Roman custom deserves the preference, I leave to the consideration of those, who think fit to employ their thoughts that way : And, now, return to the subsequent events.

LXXXI. After the death of Cassius, those, who sought to extend the power of the aristocracy, grew more daring, and shewed greater contempt of the plebeians : On the other side, the obscure, and the lower sort, were cast down ; and, finding themselves, now, deprived of the best guardian of the plebeian party, accused themselves of great folly in having condemned him. The cause of this was, that the consuls did not carry the decree of the senate concerning the division of lands into execution, by which they were directed to appoint the decemvirs to fix the bounds of the land, and to move the senate to determine how great a part of that land, and among whom, it should be distributed. Upon which, numerous meetings were held by the people, where they, perpetually, complained of this imposition, and accused the former tribunes of having betrayed the commonwealth. And the tribunes, now in charge, frequently assembled the people, and demanded a performance of those promises. The consuls, being informed of this, determined to remove the disorderly, and tumultuous part of the people, under the color of a war :
For

For it happened that the territories of the commonwealth were, at that time, harrassed with robberies, and incursions from the neighbouring cities. To revenge these injuries, they exposed the signals of war, and began to levy forces: But the poorer sort refusing to serve, and the consuls finding themselves unable to make use of the compulsion of the law against the disobedient (for the tribunes defended the people, and were prepared to oppose any attempt to seize either the persons, or the effects of those, who refused to serve) after many threats against all, who should excite the people to sedition, they gave reason for a secret suspicion that their design was to create a dictator; who, by abrogating the other magistracies, should alone be invested with a tyrannical power, and subject to give no account of his conduct. As soon as the plebeians entertained this suspicion, they, fearing lest Appius, a fierce, and rigorous man, should be the person appointed, resolved to bear any severity rather than this.

LXXXII. After the armies were raised, the consuls led them out against the enemies. Cornelius made an irruption into the territories of the Veientes, and carried off all the booty they had left there: After which, the Veientes sending ambassadors, he gave them leave to redeem their prisoners, and made a truce with them for a year. Fabius, at the head of the other army, marched into the country of the Aequi; and, from thence, into That of the Volsci: These suffered their lands to be plundered, and laid waste, for some time; after which, despising the Romans, as their army was not

numerous, they ran to arms, and marched out of the territories of the Antiates, in a body, to the relief of their country ; which was a resolution taken with greater precipitation, than regard to their security. If, indeed, they had surpris'd the Romans, while they were dispers'd, they might have given them a great defeat : But the consul, being informed of their approach by his scouts, suddenly called in his men, then dispers'd in pillaging, and drew them up in proper order. The Volsci, coming on with a contempt of the enemy, and with confidence, when, contrary to their opinion, they saw their whole army in a disposition to receive them, they were struck with fear at the unexpected fight ; and, without any consideration of the common safety, every man consult'd his own : Turning back, therefore, they fled with all the speed they could, some one way, and some another ; and the greatest part saved themselves by retiring to the city of Antium : But a small body of them, which was least in disorder, gained the top of a hill ; and, standing to their arms, continued in that posture the following night. Some days after, the consul having invest'd the hill with his forces, and secured every pass with guards, they were compelled by hunger to surrender, and deliver up their arms : After which, he order'd the quaestors to sell the booty he had taken, the spoils, and the prisoners, and to pay in the money to the treasury : And, not long after, withdrawing his forces from the enemy's country, he return'd with them to Rome, it being the end of the year. The election of magistrates drawing near, and the

patricians,

patricians, perceiving the people were exasperated, and repented of their having condemned Cassius, resolved to guard against them, lest, by being flattered with the hopes of donatives, and of the Agrarian law by some powerful demagogue, supported with the dignity of consul, they might create fresh disturbances: And they judged that the most effectual means to prevent these desires of the people was to raise their greatest enemy to the consulship: Having taken this resolution, they engaged Caeso Fabius, one of the two persons who had accused Cassius, and brother to Quintus, who was then consul; and, among the other patricians, Lucius Aemilius, one of the aristocratical party, to stand candidates for the consulship. When these offered themselves for that dignity, the plebeians had not power to hinder their election; but left the comitia, and withdrew from the field of Mars, where they were held: For, when the people were assembled in their centuries, the votes of the most considerable persons, and of those who had the greatest fortunes, carried every question: And it, rarely, happened that they had recourse to the votes of those of middling fortunes: And the last century, which was the most numerous, and in which the poorest of the plebeians gave their suffrages, had but one vote,⁵⁴ as I said before, which was, always, the last called for.

LXXXIII. For these reasons, therefore, Lucius Aemilius, the son of Mamercus, and Caeso Fabius, the son of Caeso, were created consuls this year, being the two hundred and seventieth year from the building of Rome, when Nicodemus

⁵⁴ Ως και προλεγον ειηλει μεν. See the fifty ninth chapter of the seventh book.

was archon at Athens: Whose consulship, according to their wish, happened not to be disturbed with civil dissensions, the commonwealth being surrounded with foreign wars. In all nations, and places, as well among the Greeks, as Barbarians, a cessation from foreign evils produces civil, and domestic wars: And this happens, chiefly, to those, who chuse a military, and toilsome life, as they are actuated with a desire of liberty, and dominion: For a spirit of ambition, confirmed by use, when restrained from its usual employments, grows impatient. For which reason, the wisest governors are, always, feeding the flames of some foreign quarrels, from a persuasion that it is better to make war in an enemy's country, than at home. It happened therefore, as I said, very fortunately at that time for the consuls, that the subjects of the Romans again took arms against them. For the Volsci, either relying on the domestic commotions of the Romans, and imagining the plebeians to be in a state of war with the magistrates, or stung with the shame of their former defeat, received without striking a stroke, or elated with the appearance of their forces, which were very numerous: Or induced by all these motives, resolved to make war upon the Romans: And, drawing together the youth of all their cities, they marched, with one part of their army, against the towns of the Hernici, and Latines; and, with the other, which was the most numerous, and consisted of the best troops, they proposed to receive the enemy, when they came to besiege their own. The Romans, being informed of these things, determined to divide their army, also,

also, into two bodies; and, with one of them, to preserve the territories of the Hernici, and the Latines from the inroads of the enemy; and, with the other, to lay waste Those of the Volsci.

LXXXIV. The consuls having drawn lots for the command of the armies according to custom, That of the body, designed to go to the relief of their allies, fell to Caeso Fabius; and Lucius put himself at the head of the other, and marched towards Antium. When he drew near the hills, and had a view of the enemy's army, he, presently, incamped opposite to them, upon an eminence. The following days, the enemy, frequently, quitted their camp; and, coming into the plain, challenged the consul to fight, who, when he saw his time, led out his army; and, before they engaged, he harangued his troops a considerable time; and, having encouraged them to do their duty, he ordered the trumpets to sound a charge: And the soldiers, shouting as usual, attacked in close array, both horse, and foot. After they had spent all their spears, and javelins, with the rest of their missive weapons, they drew their swords, and closed; both sides shewing an equal intrepidity, and eagerness for the victory. Their manner of fighting was, as I said before, alike; and, neither the skill, and experience of the Romans in engagements, by which they were, generally, victorious, nor their constancy, and endurance of toil, acquired by many battles, gave them any advantage upon this occasion: For all these the enemy possessed, since they had been commanded by Marcius, the greatest general among the Romans: But both
stood

stood firm, without quitting the ground, on which they, first, were placed. Afterwards, the Volsci began to retire a little, but in order, and in their ranks, and received the Romans as they pressed upon them: But this was a stratagem to make these break their ranks, and to draw them to the foot of an eminence, from whence they might be charged with advantage.

LXXXV. The Romans, thinking they were beginning to fly, followed them slowly, and in good order also: But, when they saw them running towards their camp, they too, pursued them swiftly, and in disorder: And those, who were behind, and had the charge of the rear, began to strip the dead, as if they had, already, conquered; and ran to plunder the country. The Volsci no sooner observed this, but such, as had feigned a flight, faced about as soon as they approached their intrenchments, and stood their ground; and, at the same time, those, who had been left to guard the camp, opened the gates, and ran out in great numbers from several parts. And, now, the fortune of the day was turned; the pursuers fled, and the fugitives pursued. Here many brave Romans lost their lives, as may well be imagined, being forced down a descent, and a few incompassed by many: The others, who had employed themselves in spoiling the dead, and in plundering, suffered the same fate, being deprived of the opportunity of making an orderly, and regular retreat: For these, being intercepted by the enemy, some of them were killed, and others made prisoners: And as many as were saved both of these, and of the others, who had

had been forced down the hill, the horse coming to their relief, returned to the camp, when it was late. A violent storm of rain bursting from the clouds, and a darkness, like That produced by thick mists, seemed to have preserved them from being all put to the sword; which made the enemy unwilling to pursue them any farther, as they were unable to see what passed at a distance. The following night, the consul decamped, and drew off his army in silence, and good order, with a design to conceal his march from the enemy; and, late in the evening, he incamped near a town, called Longula, chusing an eminence of strength sufficient to keep off the enemy, if these should attack him. While he remained there, he employed himself both in recovering the wounded with proper remedies, and in raising the spirits of those, who were disheartened with the shame of their unexpected defeat, by administering comfort to them.

LXXXVI. This was the condition of the Romans. As for the Volsci, when it was day, and they knew the enemy had left their camp, they advanced, and formed theirs: And, having stripped the dead, and carried off those, who, though half-dead, gave hopes of life, and buried their own men, they retired to Antium, the city that lay next to them; where, singing songs of triumph for their victory, and offering sacrifices in all their temples, they passed the following days in entertainments, and pleasures. If, therefore, they had been contented with this victory, and attempted nothing further, they might have put an end to the war with advantage:

vantage : For the Romans would not have dared, any more, to come out of their camp to give them battle ; but would have thought themselves happy in being able to retire out of the enemy's country, and have preferred an inglorious flight, to certain death : But the Volsci, aiming still at more, lost even the glory of their former victory : For, being informed by their scouts, and by deserters, that the Romans, who had saved themselves, were very few in number, and the greatest part of these wounded, they entertained a great contempt of them, and, presently, took their arms, and ran to attack them : Many unarmed people, also, came out of the city, and followed them, as spectators of the engagement, and from an expectation of plunder, and booty. But, when arrived at the eminence, they invested the camp, and endeavoured to pull up the palisades, first the Roman horse, obliged, from the nature of the ground, to fight on foot, sallied out upon them ; and, behind the horse, those they call the Triarii, with their files doubled : These are the oldest soldiers, to whom they commit the guard of the camp when they go out to fight, and, to these, as to their last hope, they are forced to have recourse, when there happens any great slaughter of the younger sort, for want of other succour. The Volsci, at first, sustained their onset, and continued the fight for a long time with great bravery : After which, having the disadvantage of the ground, they gave way ; and, at last, after they had done small damage to the enemy, and That not worth mentioning, and they themselves suffered a much greater, they retired to the plain :
Where

Where they incamped the following days, and often drew up in order of battle, challenging the Romans to fight : But these stirred not out of their camp. When the Volsci saw this, they held them in contempt ; and, sending for the forces of all their cities, prepared to force their camp by numbers ; and they might, easily, have performed a great action, by taking both the consul, and the Roman army either by force, or composition (for there was a want of provisions in the camp) had they not been prevented by the succours received by the Romans, which hindered the Volsci from putting an end to the war with the greatest glory : For the other consul, Caeso Fabius, hearing to what streights the army, which had been engaged with the Volsci, was reduced, proposed to march, that instant, with all his forces, and fall upon those, who were besieging the camp ; but, while he was offering sacrifice, and consulting the augurs, it happened that the victims, and omens were not favourable ; and the gods opposing his march, he himself staid behind ; however, he sent his best squadrons of horse to his colleague : These, taking by-roads, and marching, generally, in the night, got into the camp without being perceived by the enemy. The arrival of these succours gave new life to Aemilius. On the other side, the enemy, emboldened both by the encrease of their forces, and because the Romans did not come out to fight, doubled their files, and began to ascend the eminence : The Romans, suffered them to come up at their leisure, and to spend their strength in endeavouring to pull up the palisades ; but, when the signal of battle was

given, they threw down the intrenchments in several places, and fell upon the enemy ; and those, who came to a close fight with them, made use of their swords, while others threw stones, javelins, and spears at them from the intrenchments, none of which missed their mark, the enemy being crouded in a narrow compass. By this means, the Volsci were forced from the hill with considerable loss ; and, flying, saved themselves with great difficulty by retiring to their camp. The Romans, finding themselves now secure, went down to harrafs their country, from whence they supplied their camp with every thing they wanted.

LXXXVII. When the time for the election of magistrates was come, Aemilius staid in the camp, being ashamed to enter the city after his ignominious defeat, in which he had lost the best part of his army ; but his colleague, leaving his inferior officers to command in the camp, went to Rome ; and, assembling the people in order to the election, he declined proposing those persons, on whom they desired the consulship should be conferred, who were consular persons, since these were unwilling to stand for it ; but called the centuries to give their suffrages in favor of such as sought that dignity, and took their votes. These were the men the senate had made choice of, and ordered to stand for the consulship, who were not very agreeable to the people. By this means, Marcus Fabius, son of Caeso, the younger brother of the consul, who presided at the election, and ⁵⁵ Lucius Valerius, the son of Marcus, the same person who had brought Cassius

⁵⁵ Λυκίος Ουαλερίος Μάρκος υἱός. See the first annotation on the seventh book..

to his trial, after he had been thrice consul, for aiming at tyranny, and caused him to be put to death, were chosen consuls for the following year. These, having taken possession of their dignity, desired the senate to order that recruits might be raised to replace those, who had lost their lives in the war against the Antiates, that the deficiencies in the several companies might be completed; and, having obtained a decree of the senate for that purpose, they appointed a day, on which they ordered all, who were of the military age, to appear. Upon this, there was a great tumult in every part of the city, and seditious discourses were held by the poorer sort, who refused either to comply with the orders of the senate, or to obey the commands of the consuls, because they had violated the promises made to them concerning the division of the lands; and, going in great numbers to the tribunes, they upbraided them with treachery; and, with great clamors, implored their assistance. The tribunes, in general, did not think it a proper season, when they were engaged in a foreign war, to renew the flames of civil contests: However, one of them, by name Caius Manius, said, that, for his part, he would not betray the plebeians, nor suffer the consuls to raise an army, unless they should, first, appoint commissioners for fixing the bounds of the public lands, draw up the decree of the senate for the division of them, and lay it before the people. The consuls opposing this, and excusing themselves, on account of the present war, from granting any thing he desired, the tribune replied that he would pay no regard to them, but hinder them, with all

his power, from making levies: And he kept his word; but could not effect what he proposed: For the consuls, going out of the city, ordered their consular chairs to be placed in the adjacent field, and there enlisted the soldiers; and, since it was not in their power to seize the persons of such, as refused obedience to the laws, they fined them; and, if they were owners of estates, they laid them waste, and demolished their country houses; and, if farmers, they carried away every thing, that was necessary for their employment, their oxen, cattle, beasts of burden, and all the implements, with which the land is tilled, and their crops brought home; the tribune, who opposed the raising of men, having, no longer, any power: For those, who are invested with the tribuneship, can exercise no kind of authority without the city; their jurisdiction being confined within the walls; neither is it lawful for them even to pass a night out of the city, unless at a particular time, when all the magistrates of the commonwealth offer up a common sacrifice to Jupiter upon the Alban hill, for the prosperity of the Latin nation. This custom, by which the tribunes are not allowed to exercise any sort of authority without the city, continues to this day. And the cause, among many others, of the civil war among the Romans, which happened in our time, and was the greatest they were ever engaged in, was thought to be this, which appeared of consequence enough to divide the commonwealth; that some of the tribunes, complaining of their having been forcibly

bly

bly driven out of the city by the ⁵⁶ person, who then governed Italy, in order to deprive them of any further power, fled to the ⁵⁷ general, who, at that time, commanded the armies

⁵⁶. Προς τὰ τοῖς καλεχόντος τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν. So we must read this sentence with the Vatican manuscript. Le Jay must have been very little acquainted with the transactions of this important period, to say, in his note upon this passage, that some particular discontent must have obliged Pompey to drive the tribunes out of Rome; *il faut que quelque-mécontentement particulier eût obligé Pompée de chasser de Rome les tribuns*. This particular discontent, as he calls it, was nothing less than the intercession of the tribunes to the decree of the senate, by which Caesar was commanded to disband his army. These tribunes, fearing the resentment of the senate on account of their intercession, fled from Rome, and went to Caesar, complaining, as our author says, that Pompey, or, which is the same thing, the senate by his direction, had forced them to leave the city. This will be explained in the following note.

⁵⁷. Ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ Γαλαλίᾳ τὰ στρατοπέδα καλεχόντα. Caesar himself is the last author we must consult, if we have a mind to unfold his ambitious views, and to strip them of the false colors, with which he, all along, endeavours to disguise them from the eyes both of the age he lived in, and of posterity. In his history of the civil wars, he, indeed, relates the facts, but conceals the motives; particularly his own; and gives false motives, and private views

to all his opposers: Thus he says that Cato opposed him, from an ancient enmity, and the resentment of his repulse; *Catonem veteres inimicitiae Caesaris incitant, et dolor repulsae*: He means the repulse Cato met with by the means of Caesar, and his friends, when he stood candidate for the praetorship. The reason why Pompey, and Crassus, then consuls, and acting in conjunction with Caesar, would not suffer Cato to obtain that dignity, is very well explained by ^sDion Cassius: They suspected that he would not bear their administration, and were unwilling to add a legal power to his opposition, ὑπωπτεύοντες γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ ἀνέξεσθαι τὰ γινόμενα, καὶ ἐκ ἐβλησαν ἰσχυρὰ αὐτῷ ἐννομὸν πρὸς τὰς ἀντιλογίας προσθεῖναι. If, therefore, we are to believe Caesar, he himself was the patriot, who had no other view than to support the laws of his country; and Cato was his opposer, from no other motive than private enmity, and resentment. This endeavour in Caesar to justify himself shews there is such a native beauty in virtue, that the most profligate men are desirous to shelter themselves under the appearance of it. Caesar had the same advantage with many other men, who have done bad things with worse motives; and then justified themselves by saying that what they did was according to the laws of their country: This is catching at the forms of law, and losing the spirit of it; in consequence

^r B. i. c. 4.

^s B. xxxix. p. 117.

in Gaul, as to their only refuge: Who, laying hold on this opportunity, and pretending to support, with piety and

of which, such men have often (though not often enough) felt, at last, the weight of both. ^t When the senate passed the memorable decree, by which Caesar was ordered to disband his legions, and Pompey to keep his on foot, only two senators dissented, Caecilius, an obscure man, and Curio, a creature of Caesar, from whom he had brought a plausible letter to the senate. Notwithstanding this almost unanimous consent of the senate, the decree could not regularly pass, because two of the tribunes of the people interceded, as they called it, that is, they opposed it: These were Antony, afterwards so much known, and Quintus (not Caius) Cassius. This they, certainly, had a power to do by law: Nay the intercession of a single tribune was sufficient to obstruct a decree of the senate. Their opposition, therefore, was constitutional: But the disregard shewn by the senate to their opposition was, certainly, not so; much less the threats of the senate against these opposers, and their expelling them afterwards. The tribunes, apprehending the consequence of these threats, left Rome together with Curio, and Caecilius; and went to Caesar, who was then, as ^u he says, at Ravenna. This irregular, and, if I may call it so, injudicious proceeding of the senate gave an appearance of law, and popularity to the enterprise of Caesar, who, though he made the most of this oppression of the tribunes, as he terms it, would, in all probability, have invaded

his country, if his adversaries had never furnished him with so plausible a pretence. That he magnified this circumstance appears from his speech to his soldiers, when he is begging them, in other words, to assist him against his country: He there complains of this innovation, by which the tribunitian intercession was censured with arms, and oppressed; ^w *novum in republicâ introductum exemplum queritur, ut tribunitia intercessio armis notaretur, atque opprimeretur.* This had the desired effect with his soldiers, who cried out that they were ready to revenge the injuries done to their general, and to the tribunes; *se se paratos esse imperatoris sui tribunorumque plebis injurias defendere.* If I said that the use made by Caesar of this flight of the tribunes was only a pretence to cover his own ambition, I am justified in it by his conduct, not long after, to two other tribunes of the people: ^x These were C. Epidius, and L. Cestius Flaccus, who, not only, prosecuted one of his mob for calling him king, but caused public notice to be given, that they could not perform the duties of their function with freedom, and security: These tribunes he procured the senate to depose, and expel out of their house; which they had no more power to do, than they had, before, to pass a decree for the expulsion of the other tribunes: But these he protected, because they served his ambition; and punished the former, because they opposed it.

^t Dion Cassius, B. xli. p. 171.

^u B. i. c. 5.

^w Id. ib. c. 7.

^x Dion Cassius, B. xliv. p. 277.

justice,

justice, the sacred magistrates of the people, who had been deprived of their authority, contrary to the oaths of the ancient Romans, he himself entered the city in arms, and restored the tribunes to the functions of their magistracy.

LXXXVIII. The plebeians, finding, upon the occasion I before mentioned, no relief from the Tribunitian power, were humbled; and, coming to the persons appointed to raise the levies, took the sacred oath, and listed under their ensigns. When the deficiencies in the several companies were completed, the consuls drew lots for the command of the armies: To Fabius was allotted the army, which had been sent to the assistance of their allies: And to Valerius That, which lay incamped in the country of the Volsci, to which were added the new levies. When the enemy were informed of his arrival, they resolved to send for another army, to incamp in a place of greater strength, and not, rashly, to expose themselves to the same danger, from a contempt of the Romans. These resolutions were soon executed, and the generals of both armies entertained the same opinion of the war; which was to defend their own intrenchments if they were attacked, but not to attempt Those of the enemy, from an expectation of carrying them by assault; and the fear of attempting any thing against each other kept them both inactive, for a considerable time: However, they were not able to continue their resolutions to the last: For, whenever any detachments were sent out to bring in provisions, or any thing else, that was necessary to both armies, these met, and fought, the same detachments
not

not having, always, the same advantage; and these skirmishes happening often, not a few were killed, and more wounded. But the Romans received no succours from any parts to replace their numbers, that were continually lessening; while the army of the Volsci was greatly increased by the arrival of fresh forces successively; and their generals, elated with this, led out their army with a resolution to fight.

LXXXIX. The Romans having done the same, and drawn up their forces, a sharp engagement ensued, as well of the horse, as of the foot, and the light armed men, all shewing equal valor, and experience, and every man placing his hopes of victory in himself alone. By this time, many, fallen on the spot where they had been placed, lay dead on both sides, and many more half dead; and those, who continued the fight, and yet faced the dangers of the field, were reduced to a small number; and even these not capable of performing their duty, while their shields, loaded with the darts that stuck in them, weighed down their left hands, and would not suffer them to sustain the onset of the enemy; the edge of their swords was blunted, and some of them were shivered to pieces, and now useless; and the toil, which to those who had fought the whole day, was excessive, slackened their sinews, and weakened their strokes; and sweat, thirst, and want of breath, all which must happen to such, as fight long in the suffocating heat of summer, afflicting both armies, the event of the battle was, in no degree, considerable; and both, as soon as their generals ordered a retreat to be sounded, willingly returned to
their

their camps. From this time, neither ventured out to fight; but, sitting still, observed each other's motions, when any went out for necessaries. It was thought, however, and the report was common at Rome, that the Roman army had it, then, in their power to conquer; but declined performing any great action, from their hatred to the consul, and their resentment against the patricians, for having imposed upon them in regard to the division of the public lands: And the soldiers themselves, sending letters to their friends, accused the consul, as unfit to command. These were the transactions in the field: But in Rome itself divers prodigies happened, which manifested the divine wrath, both by voices, and unusual sights: All which concurred in this (as the augurs, and the interpreters of holy things, by assisting one another with their experience, declared) that some of the gods were displeased, because they did not receive their customary honors, neither was their worship performed with purity, and sanctity. Upon this, strict inquiry was made by every one; and, at last, the pontiffs were informed that one of the vestals, who preserve the holy fire, by name, ⁵⁸ Opimia, had lost her virginity, and polluted the holy rites: The pontiffs, having by tortures, and other proofs, found the information to be true, took from her head the fillets; and, conducting her through the forum, buried her alive within the walls of the city; and, causing the two men, who had

⁵⁸ Οπimia. y Livy calls this vestal virgin, *Oppia*.

y B. ii. c. 42.

been convicted of debauching her, to be whipped in public, they ordered them, presently, to be put to death. After which, the sacrifices, and the auguries were favourable, the wrath of the gods being appeased.

XC. When the time for the election of magistrates was come, and the consuls were returned to Rome, there was a great contest, and struggle between the people, and the patricians, concerning the persons, who were to be invested with the supreme magistracy: For the latter desired to promote to the consulship such of the young men, as were active, and least inclined to the interest of the plebeians; and, by their direction, the son of Appius Claudius, who was esteemed the greatest enemy of the people, stood for that dignity; a person excessively proud and daring, and the most powerful man of his time by the number of his friends, and clients. On the other side, the people named such of the elder senators, and of those, who had, already, given proofs of their moderation, as were likely to consult the good of the commonwealth; and desired to make them consuls. The magistrates were, also, divided, and sought to invalidate one another's authority: For, when the consuls assembled the people, in order to name the candidates for the consulship, the tribunes, in virtue of their power to forbid all proceedings, dismissed the comitia: And again, when these assembled the people to chuse their magistrates, the consuls would not suffer them to proceed, since they had the power of calling the centuries together, and
of

of giving them their votes. Mutual accusations, and continual quarrels passed between them; each side being supported by those of their own faction: So that, even, blows were exchanged in their passion; and the seditious were very near proceeding to arms. The senate, being informed of these things, deliberated, for a long time, what course to take in this juncture, being neither able to force the people to a submission, nor willing to submit to them. Those, who were for carrying things with a high hand, advised to create a dictator on account of the election, one, whom they should most approve of; and that the person invested with this power should banish the authors of this distemper; and, if the former magistrates had been guilty of any fault, that he should reform it; and, after he had regulated the government in such a manner, as he should think fit, appoint the best men to be magistrates. But the more moderate proposed to chuse interreges, consisting of the most ancient, and the most dignified senators; who should be directed to take care that the election of magistrates be carried on in the best manner, as it was, formerly, practised after the demise of their kings. This advice being approved of by the majority, Aulus Sempronius Atratinus was created interrex by the senate; and all the other magistracies ceased. After he had governed the commonwealth without any sedition, as many days as he was authorized by his commission, he appointed another interrex, according to their custom, and named Spurius Lartius to that dignity; who, assembling the

people in their centuries, and giving them their votes according to the valuation of their fortunes, returned for consuls, with the approbation of both parties, ⁵⁹ Caius Julius, surnamed Iulus, a man in the interest of the people; and Quintus Fabius, the son of Caeso, for the second time, who was in That of the aristocracy. The people, who had not been ill treated by him in his former consulship, suffered him to obtain this honor a second time, through their hatred to Appius, and the great satisfaction they received from his disgrace: And the aristocratical party, who had concerted measures to advance to the consulship a man of activity, and one, who should relax in nothing to the people, looked upon the event of the sedition to have been favourable to their designs.

XCI. During the consulship of these persons, the Aequi, making a predatory irruption into the territories of the Latines, carried off a great number of slaves, and cattle: And a people of Tyrrhenia, called the Veientes, plundered a great part of the country belonging to the Romans. The senate resolved to put off the war against the Aequi, and to demand satisfaction of the Veientes. The former, finding their first attempt successful, and that no one appeared to obstruct them in the prosecution of it, grew elated with a groundless presumption; and, resolving to act, no longer,

⁵⁹ Γαϊον Ιυλιον του επικαλεσμενον Ιυλον. called C. Julius Iulus in the *Fasti consulares*.
So we must read this passage with the
Vatican manuscript; because he is

like robbers, they marched with a numerous army to ⁶⁰ Hortona, and took it by storm; and, after they had plundered both the country, and the city, returned home with a great booty: As to the Veientes, the answer they gave to the Roman ambassadors was, that the people, who had laid waste their country, did not belong to their nation, but to the other Tyrrhenian cities; and, then, dismissed them, without giving them any sort of satisfaction: And the ambassadors, in their return, met the Veientes, as they were bringing home the booty they had taken in the Roman territories. The senate, being informed of these things from the ambassadors, came to a resolution, not only, to declare war against the Veientes, but that both the consuls should command their army. This resolution of the senate raised a great contest, and many opposed their engaging in this war; and put the plebeians in mind of the division of the public lands, of which they had been defrauded after a vain hope, notwithstanding the decree of the senate, passed near five years before for carrying it into execution: They shewed them, also, that the war they were going to declare, would become a general war, if all Tyrrhenia, by joint consent, should resolve to assist their countrymen. However, these seditious representations had no effect; the people confirmed the decree of the senate, pursuant to the opinion, and advice:

^{60.} Ορτωνα. ² Cluver has shewn that we ought thus to read the name of this town, which the Romans called *Hortona*, a city of the Latines near Praeneste.

² B. iii. p. 969.

of Spurius Lartius. Upon which, the consuls marched out with their forces, and incamped apart, at no great distance from the city of Veii: And, after they had continued there several days, and the enemy did not come out to fight them, they ravaged as great a part of their country as they could, and returned home with the army. And nothing else worth notice happened, during their consulship.

The end of the Eighth Book.

ERRATA in VOL. III.

- P**AGE 1. L. 4. For *in which*. Read at *which*.
- P. 2. last line. f. superintendence. r. superintendence.
- P. 17. L. 5. f. Licinnius. r. Licinius.
- P. 35. L. 12. f. Malachus. r. Malacus.
- P. 42. L. 6. f. of. r. on.
- P. 46. Note 20. no point after Συσωα.
- P. 50. L. 5. f. Echetrani. r. Ecetrani.
- P. 53. L. 3. f. in which. r. at which.
- P. 64. last line but three. f. they. r. the Æqui.
- P. 74. last line but three. f. dependance. r. dependence.
- P. 75. L. 10. for in which. r. at which.
- P. 87. last line but two. f. avaritious. r. avaricious.
- P. 93. Column 2. L. 5. f. Gelon. r. Gelo.
- P. 109. L. 18. f. these. r. them.
- P. 129. L. 2. a comma after *thing*.
- P. 141. last line but three. f. The Women, also. r. Even the women.
- P. 146. L. 2. f. superintendence. r. superintendence.
- P. 152. L. 1. f. Licinnius. r. Licinius.
- P. 159. last line but one. dele. *own*.
- P. 161. last line but one. no comma after *those*.
- P. 165. L. 11. f. umbrellos. r. umbrellas.
- P. 177. L. 2. f. or. r. nor.
- P. 191. L. 12 and 16. f. ediles. r. ædiles.
Ib. last line but one. f. plebeians. r. patricians.
- P. 192. L. 15. for the first *they*. r. the patricians.
Ib. L. 22 and 25. f. ediles. r. ædiles.
- P. 193. L. 18. f. devastatations. r. devastations.
- P. 195. L. 7. a comma after *proof*, and then insert *by*.
- P. 202. L. 13. f. the. r. their.
Ib. L. 19 and last. f. ediles. r. ædiles.
- P. 203. L. 1 and 6. f. of. r. on.
- P. 208. C. 2. L. 7. f. ediles. r. ædiles.
- P. 214. last line but two. f. plebians. r. plebeians.
Ib. last line. f. to this place. r. in this place.
- P. 215. L. 10. f. secrefy. r. secrecy.
- P. 216. L. 1. a comma after *those*.
- P. 223. L. 7. f. desire. r. intreat.
- P. 235. L. 4. a comma after *and*. and f. that. r. since.
- P. 237. L. 5 and 6. f. by another, that. r. by that, which.
Ib. L. 11. f. dependants. r. dependents.
- P. 243. L. 10. f. seperate. r. separate.
- P. 252. L. 14. f. of. r. on.
- P. 253. L. 1. f. Marcius r. : And.
Ib. L. 2. after *desired*. r. he.
- P. 261. last line. f. seperated. r. separated.
- P. 265. last line but three. f. For. r. Since.
- P. 273. L. 11. f. hand and hand. r. hand in hand.
- P. 277. L. 17. and 21. f. sacrificed and sacrifice. r. sacrificd and sacrifice.
Ib. last line. f. flayed. r. fleaed.
- P. 286. L. 18. f. great expence. r. vast expence.
- P. 289. L. 4. f. Volscians. r. Volsci.
Ib. L. 21. f. Echetra. r. Ecetra.
- P. 299. L. 21. after *approving*. r. of.
- P. 307. L. 22. f. conquerers. r. conquerors.
- P. 310. L. 9. a comma after *walls*.
- P. 311. C. 1. L. 12. after *and*, insert *now says*.
Ib. C. 2. L. 17. after *be*. r. had.
- P. 338. L. 18. f. Longola. r. Longula. (and in the note.
Ib. last line. f. Echetra. r. Ecetra.
- P. 362. L. 15. f. sacrifice. r. sacrifice.
- P. 382. L. 9. f. cowardice. r. cowardise.
Ib. L. 15. confider. r. consider.
- P. 388. L. 12. f. him. r. his person.
- P. 403. C. 1. L. 3. f. whic is. r. which is.
- P. 426. L. 6. f. in. r. into.
- P. 435. L. 3. no comma after *even*.













